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DIFFERENT METHODS OF DATE-RECORDING IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ŚAKA ERA

By M. N. Saha

(*Paper received on 7th November, 1952*)

1. Introduction

One of the most intriguing tasks for historians and chronologists of Indian culture and civilization is the accurate dating of historical events according to a standard system of time-recording, which is now invariably that followed in the Gregorian Calendar. Accusation has been made against India that of all countries to which civilization came early, she has been notoriously lacking in the chronological sense.

Let us see how far these accusations are justified. It is well known that the time-sense itself is a late development of the mind of organized human society. Not only India, but most early nations had not at all developped the time-sense, and even when it developped, they did not know how to give expression to it in a scientific manner.

This statement requires some explanation.

In a modern system of dating we mention the current year, the month of the year and the day of the month, and mostly, but not always the week-day.

This presupposes the fixation of (1) the era, (2) the initial day of the year, and (3) the lengths of the months.

Further, in an accurate system of time-reckoning, mankind must have an accurate knowledge of the basic astronomical constants, viz. the length of the tropical year in terms of mean solar days, and when a luni-solar system is used, the definition of the month and of its duration (lunation) in terms of mean solar days, and a knowledge of the system of intercalation.

As is well known, all this knowledge came to mankind very late, and previous to that, inaccurate calendars have been evolved, and date-recordings made according to these calendars have to be corrected and converted to the standard system.

We shall not discuss here the evolution of the Gregorian system or of its limitations as this is available in standard treatises.

2. Stages in India's Calendar development

Indian civilization is of hoary antiquity and the late Mr. S. B. Dixit of Poona (Dixit, 1896), our pioneer authority in the study of calendars has distinguished four broad periods in our calendar development which, with some modification, may be briefly described as follows:

(1) *Pre-vedic and Vedic periods from unknown antiquity to about 1350 B.C.*—Dixit did not include pre-vedic times, as existence of the pre-vedic Indus valley civilization was not known in his days.

We have not much particulars of this period, except a few stray references. This period will not be considered in this article.

(2) *The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa period from 1350 B.C. to 400 A.D.*—The system of time-reckoning followed during this period is given in *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* and *Paitāmaha Siddhānta* and is followed in the *Mahābhārata, Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* and in inscriptions of indigenous Indian dynasties before they came into contact with Graeco-Chaldean astronomy about 300 B.C. Dixit has given proofs that it came into existence about 1350 B.C. In its later stages, it came into contact with Graeco-Chaldean astronomy, and under its influence was transformed to the *Siddhānta Jyotiṣa* system, which ultimately superseded it.

(3) *The Siddhānta-Jyotiṣa period from circa 200 A.D. to modern times.*—The time reckonings based on this system are available from a number of standard treatises, of which the most well-known are the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, the *Brahma Siddhānta* and the *Ārya Siddhānta*. They follow essentially the same methods, but differ slightly in the values of the astronomical constants. The oldest parts of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* date from about 400 A.D., but the astronomical constants were constantly revised up to about 1100 A.D. after which the system became rigid. These systems still form the basis of the numerous Hindu calendars which are used to fix up dates of religious festivals in different parts of India. It is generally held that date-recordings based on these systems of time-reckoning came into vogue during the middle Gupta period (about 400 A.D.).

There is a period of transition between 300 B.C. and 400 A.D. when the VJ-system was being used for date-recording by indigenous dynasts, while some forms of contemporary Graeco-Chaldean system was being used by the Yavana, Śaka, Parthian and Kushāṇa powers in N.W. India and Afghanisthan. It is one of the objects of this paper to describe the essential features of these two systems, and to discuss how they mingled and led to the Siddhānta Jyotiṣa system.

(4) *The Mahomedan and British periods.*—From 1200 A.D. to 1757 A.D. the Mahomedan rulers of India used the pure lunar calendar of Islam for civil administration, date-recording and fixation of Moslem holidays. Akbar introduced, since 1584, the Tārikh Ilāhī, based on the solar calendar of Iran, introduced by the Seljuk Sultan, Jalaluddin Malik Shah in 1079 A.D. Akbar's calendar was discontinued shortly after the reign of Shah Jahan (1630 A.D.) but it left its impression on a number of hybrid calendars.

During the British period, the Gregorian calendar has been used for all civil purpose and India has thus linked up with the world.

For the conversion of dates expressed in Śaka, Vikrama and other Indian eras, including the Hejirah and Tārikh Ilahi, to Gregorian dates, a number of treatises has to be consulted. These are:

(1) S. K. Pillai, 1922, *An Indian Ephemeris*, from 700 A.D. to 1799 in seven volumes published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. The introduction contains the rules of Indian calendars. The rest are tables.

(2) Jacobi, 1893, On the computation of dates in inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, I, 403, 1894. Tables for calculating Hindu dates, *Ep. Ind.*, II, 487, 1900.

Further see

Cunningham, *Indian Eras* (1893).
Sewell and Dixit, *The Indian Calendar*.
Sewell, *The Indian Chronography*.
Sewell, *The Siddhāntas and Indian Calendars*.
Mabel Duff, *The Chronology of India* (1890).

These deal with dates after the Gupta period. For the previous Indo-Scythian period, the calendars are matters of speculation.

3. DATE-RECORDING BY AŚOKA, THE SĀTAVĀHANAS, AND OTHER EARLY INDIAN DYNASTS

The earliest epigraphical instances of date-recording in India are found in Aśoka's inscriptions. One example is quoted (Sircar, 1942, pp. 62-63):

Fifth Pillar Edict—Rampurva Version
(found at Rampurva—Champaran Dist. Bihar)
Language Prākrit—Script Brāhmī.

(1) *Saḍuvīsativasābhisitena* (*Ṣaḍviṁsāti-varṣābhiṣiktena*)—'After twenty-six years had elapsed since coronation'.

Thus 'Regnal Years' were used.

(2) *Tīsu catuṁmāsīsu tisyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ tinidivasāni cāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadam*......(*Tisṛṣu cāturmāsiṣu tiṣyāyāṁ pūrṇamāsyāṁ triṣu divaseṣu-caturdaśe pañcadaśe pratipadi*......

'On the three *cāturmāsī* days, on the *tiṣyā* full-moon day, on the 14th, 15th and the first day......'

(On these and some other days, sale of fish is forbidden)

Again, in the same:

(3) *Aṭhami-pakhāye cāvudaśāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune*....(*Aṣṭami-pakṣe, caturdaśyāṁ, pañcadaśyāṁ, tiṣyāyāṁ, punarvasau*......);

'On the eighth *pakṣa*, on the 14th, and the 15th (New Moon) on the *Tisyā* and *Punarvasu Nakṣatra* days......'

(On these days, he forbids the castration of bulls).

From these passages, we conclude that

1. No era was used, but King's regnal years were used for dating.
2. The time-reckoning was by seasons, each of 8 *pakṣas*. The seasons are
   - *Grīṣma* (Summer): Comprising *Caitra*, *Vaiśakha*, *Jyaiṣṭha*, *Āṣaḍha*.
   - *Varṣā* (Rains): Comprising *Śrāvaṇa*, *Bhādra*, *Āśvina*, *Kārtika*.
   - *Hemanta* (Winter): Comprising *Agrahāyaṇa*, *Pauṣa*, *Māgha*, *Phālguna*.
3. The months are not mentioned by name, except in one case. They are *pūrṇimānta*, i.e. they started after full moon and ended in full moon. This is not expressly mentioned but can be inferred from the fact that the 14th, the 15th (*pañcadaśī*) and the *Pratipada*, i.e. the first Tithi are enjoined to be the days on which certain actions are forbidden. These must be the three days of invisibility of the moon, the 14th being before new moon, the 15th the new moon, and the first, the day after new moon, which were observed as unsuitable for many particular performances.

4. The day-reckoning was by the *tithi* (lunar day), but the word *tithi* is probably not to be taken in the sense of the present Siddhāntic *tithi*, but in the sense of the old Brahmanic *tithi*. In this system, a *tithi* was counted from moon-set to moon-set during bright half, and from moon-rise to moon-rise during the dark half. There was the same *tithi* for the whole day. Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta has discussed this method of *tithi* reckoning (vide Appendix I).
5. Two days are mentioned by the lunar asterisms *Tiṣyā* (α-Cancri), and *Punarvasu* (β-Gemini). As suggested one was probably his birth *Nakṣatra*, the other his coronation *Nakṣatra*. The days were therefore also counted by the *Nakṣatra*.
6. There is no mention of the year beginning. But the fact that the *Tiṣya Pūrṇamāsī*, i.e. the full-moon day ending the lunar month of *Pauṣa* is marked out particularly, shows that it was probably the year-end day.

The same system of date-recording by the King's regnal years, the seasons, the *pakṣas*, and old *tithis* are found in use by the Sātavāhanas (100 A.D.), and the Ikṣākus of Andhra Province. There are 8 *pakṣas* in a season of four months, and they were serially numbered from 1 to 8. The odd ones were *Kṛṣṇa pakṣa*, the even ones *Śukla pakṣa*.

Some examples are given below:

(1) Nasik Inscription of the Sātavahana Emperor, Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarni (Sircar, pp. 192-93).

Data paṭikā Savachare 10+8 Vāsapakhe 2 divase 1 (dattā paṭṭikā Samvatsare aṣṭādasē 18 Varṣā-pakṣe dvitiye 2 divase prathame 1).

i.e. the inscription was recorded in the eighteenth year elapsed since the coronation on the first day of the second *Pakṣa* of the *Varṣā* season, i.e. in the lunar month of *Śrāvaṇa*, on the first day after new moon (*Śukla Pakṣa*).

There are other Sātavahana inscriptions, similarly dated as in the Table I below:

TABLE I

Table of Inscriptions of Sātavāhana Kings, showing date-recording

Lüders			
1024	*Raño Gotamiputasa Sāmi-Sīri-Yaña Sātkannisa*	16–G	1– 5
1100	*Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sāmi-Siri-Pulumavisa*	7–G	5– 1
1106	*R. V. Siri-Pulumāvisa*	24–H	3– 2
1122	*R. V. Siri-Pulumayisa*	6–G	5– 6
1123	*R. V. Siri-Pulumayisa*	19–G	2–13
1124	*R. V. Siri-Pulumavisa*	19–G	2–13
		22–G	1– 7
1126	*R. G. Sātakanisa*	24–V	4– 5
1146	*R. G. Sāmi Siriyaña Sātakanisa*	7–H	1
1147	*R. V. Sāmi Siri-Pulumāisa*	2–H	8
90	(Sircar)—*Siri-Pulumāvisa*	8–H	2– 1

R means raño, *V*—Vāsiṭhiputasa, *G*—Gotamiputasa.

(2) The other typical date-recording is that of Rājā Vīrapuruṣadatta of Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā (Sircar, pp. 220-221).

Ramño Sīri Virapurisadatasa Sava 6 Vā pa 6 di 10 (Rājñaḥ Śrī Vīrapuruṣadattasya Samvatsare Ṣaṣṭhe 6 Varṣāpakṣe Ṣaṣṭhe 6 divase dasāme 10).

On the sixth year of King Sri Vīrpuruṣadatta, on the 6th *pakṣa* of the *varṣā* season, on the tenth day. The sixth of *varṣā pakṣa* is month of Āśvina, second or light half (*Śukla pakṣa*).

The number in the first column indicates the serial number of the inscription in Lüders' list. The last column contains dates, in an abridged form; e.g. in 1123, we have 19, G 2–13. Here '19' is the Regnal Year, G denotes *Grīṣma* or summer season, '2' following G denotes the second *pakṣa*, i.e. the second half of the month of *Caitra*, constituting the *Śukla pakṣa*, and the last numeral '13' denotes the day. But it is not clear whether the day is the lunar day, i.e. the *tithi* or the solar day. Even if it be the *tithi*, it is probably not the Siddhāntic *tithi*, but the old Brahmanic *tithi* (vide Appendix).

As no era is mentioned, it has been difficult to work out a chronology of the early Indian dynasts including the Sātavāhanas.

4. INTRODUCTION OF THE 'ERA'

It is obvious from the above inscriptional evidences, that continuous era-recording was not used by Indian dynasts up to the time of the Sātavāhanas, and no ancient books, not even the *Mahābhārata* mentions an era. But India cannot be singled out in this respect; for none of the great nations of antiquity—Egypt, Babylon, Assyria or later Greece and Rome—used a continuously running era till late in their history. The first continuously running era known to history is that of Nabonassar dating from (−746) A.D. Feb. 26 or 747 B.C.

This 'era' was first used by the Chaldean astronomers for dating astronomical observations from 747 B.C. and later by the two great Greek astronomers of antiquity, viz. Hipparchus (126 B.C.) and Ptolemy (150 A.D.) for date-recording.

The origin of the Nabonassar era is wrapped up in mystery. This era was probably introduced by the Babylonian astronomers who felt the need of a continuously running era, instead of the use of the years elapsed or current since accession to the throne of the reigning king (Regnal Years) which had been in vogue since the time of the Kassites (1700 B.C.). It has been thought that the more scientific-minded of the priest-astronomers were tired of regnal years and took advantage of a unique gathering of planets about Feb. 26, 747 B.C., to proclaim that the gods have ordered the introduction of an Era (*Sky and Telescope*, Vol. I).

It was named after Nabu Nazir, the reigning king, but does not seem to have been used either for civil or administrative purposes, but only for the recording of astronomical data obtained in the temple observatories. The kings continued to record events in their regnal years, as this had a great propaganda value which they were not willing to sacrifice.

It is now known that the other ancient eras, like that of the Greek Olympiads or the era of Foundation of Rome, are also extrapolated eras. The ancient Greek method of dating by Olympiads is due to the works of Alexandrian Chronologists, particularly Eratosthenes (3rd century B.C.) and according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th edition, Greek Chronology is not reliable till the 50th Olympiad (i.e. 576 B.C.). The era was therefore invented 400 years after its alleged year of starting. The era of the Foundation of Rome had a similar history (see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th edition, Chronology). Probably both these eras were plagiarized from the era of Nabonassar after the savants of ancient Greece and Rome acquired the time-sense. The Christian Era, is also an extrapolated era, which first came into use about 500 A.D. in place of the era of the Foundation of Rome, due to the exertions of a Scythian Bishop, Dionysius the Little.

In India the only era which is held to be pre-Śaka or pre-Vikrama is the Kaliyuga era. But this has been proved to be an extrapolated era, which first came to be known about 500 A.D. There is no mention of this era in any ancient book or inscription, but it is first mentioned by Āryabhaṭa who states that he was 23 years old in the year 3600 of Kali Yuga, which was year 421 of the Śaka Era. Probably this era was invented by Āryabhaṭa himself who felt that the great antiquity of Indian civilization could not be conveniently expressed by the eras then in use (the Śaka or the Gupta Era), as they were too recent.

The Seleucidean Era: (the S.E. era): The first continuously running era which ran into general circulation is that introduced to commemorate the foundation of Seleucus's dynasty and dates from the year when Seleucus occupied the city of Babylon from his rivals. There were two methods of counting: differing in the initial year and the first day of the year.

According to the official (Macedonian) reckoning, the era started from the lunar month of Dios (near autumnal equinox) in the year −311 A.D. or 312 B.C. The months were Macedonian.

According to the indigenous (Chaldean) reckoning the era started from the lunar month of *Nisan* (after the vernal equinox subsequent to the autumnal equinox in which the official year began) in the following year (−310 A.D.), or 311 B.C.

The era had wide currency in all countries of the Near East and was known under several names e.g.:

> Era of Greeks, Syro-Macedonian era, era of astronomers of Babylon, era of Alexander, era of contracts.

It is said to be still in use in parts of Syria.

Use in India: It is not yet known with certainty whether the early Greek kings of Bactria or the Indo-Greek kings used the Seleucidean era or some other system of time-reckoning, as no inscriptions of these kings bearing date in an era have yet been discovered; only two coins have been discovered bearing certain symbols which are taken to represent numbers. These are coins of a certain king Plato, found in the Kabul Valley, and bearing the year 147, which must therefore refer to an era, apparently the Seleucidean Era, and Plato's date is 165 B.C. Tarn (p. 210) identifies him to be a brother of Eukratidas who conquered, about 170 B.C., Bactria from the rival house of Demetrius and founded one of the rival Greek houses which ruled Afghanistan and the Panjab for two centuries (180 B.C. to *circa* 1 A.D.). With this solitary exception, there is no trace of the use of the Seleucidean era on Indian soil.

Since the introduction of the Seleucidean era, the practice arose for a nation or dynasty to start eras commemorating some great event in their national or dynastic life. The first in record is the Parthian Era, and the story of its starting is well known. The Seleucid emperors ruled the Near East from 312 B.C. imposing on the countries under their domination Greek culture, the Seleucidean Era, and the Graeco-Chaldean system of time-reckoning. About 250 B.C., there were wide-spread revolts against their rule in Bactria, in Parthia (Eastern Persia), and other parts of the Near East. The revolt in Parthia was led by one Arsaces and his brother Tiridates who belonged to an Iranian tribe, which had adopted Greek culture. To commemorate their liberation from Seleucidean rule, the Parthians introduced an Era beginning 64 years after the Seleucid Era

(248 B.C.). But at first this era (Arsacid Era) was seldom used. The early Parthian emperors preferred to use on their coins the Seleucidean Era, the Macedonian months, and the Graeco-Chaldean system of time-reckoning in Greek letters. In the first century A.D. there was a Zoroastrian revival, the S.E. was dropped in favour of the Parthian Era and Aramaic began to be used in place of Greek, though Macedonian month-names were still kept.

It is sometimes thought that the Graeco-Chaldean system of time-reckoning could be adopted in any country which had a lunar-reckoning of months without change, only the initial year had to be changed. Tarn remarks 'It used to be taken that wherever the names of Macedonian months occur, the Macedonian form of the calendar (Graeco-Chaldean) was in use', but recently it has been strongly argued that the calendar in use in Seleucia was a mixed form, with the Macedonian months, but the Babylonian year, and that this, and not the Macedonian, form of the calendar was the form used by Seleucia on the Parthian coinage which she minted. For India, this question is particularly important, for the Kushāṇas very often used Macedonian months, but it is not known whether they were *Amānta* as in contemporary West. As we shall see later, the Kushāṇas also used Indian months, but they were clearly *Pūrṇimānta*, following the ancient Indian system. (See Tarn, p. 359.)

5. Introduction of the Era in India

As mentioned already, though the Indo-Greek kings ruled in the Kabul Valley and the Panjab from *circa* 160 B.C. to shortly before the commencement of the Christian era, very few inscriptions of theirs have so far been discovered; of the inscriptions discovered one bears a date in the regnal year of Menander, but we do not know of the use of any era, not even the Seleucidean.

But era or eras of unknown origin began to be mentioned in certain inscriptions found in the North-Western Panjab and the Kabul Valley. Some of them mention kings who ruled Ariana (West and Southern Afghanistan comprising the Herat regions—Area), the Kandahar regions (Arachosia), and Gandhāra (N.W. Panjab) between the 2nd century B.C. and first century A.D. The inscriptions are mostly in Kharoṣṭhī, and later ones found on Indian soil are in Brāhmī. The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are collected by Sten Konow in his monumental work *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*', Vol. II, and are reproduced below in Groups A, B, and C.

Group A is identical with Konow's A (with the omission of Nos. 20–24 which have been placed under Group C) and contains dates from year 58 to 200. Group B identical with Konow's B Group contains the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period bearing dates of years between 300 and 400.

Group A:

1. Maira: [saṁ 58].
2. Shahdaur A: ra[ja]no Damijadasa saka-sa . . . [shashṭi . . . 60]. Reading uncertain.
3. Shahdaur B: [maharayasa ?] Ayasa saṁ. . . .
4. Mānsehrā: . . . aḍhashaṭhi. . . .
5. Fatehjang: saṁ 68 Proṭhavatasa masasa divase shoḍaśe 16.
6. Taxila copper-plate: saṁvatśaraye aṭhasatatimae 78 maharayasa mahaṁtasa Mogasa Panemasa masasa divase paṁchame 5 etaye purvaye.

7. Muchai: vashe ekaśitimaye 81.
8. Kala Sang: [saṁ 100]. Reading uncertain.
9. Mount Banj: saṁvatśaraye 102.
10. Takht-i-Bāhī: mahārayasa Guduvharasa vasha 26 saṁbatśarae tiśatimae 103 Veśakhasa masasa divase [praṭha]me [di i atra puña]pakshe.
11. Pājā: saṁvatśaraye ekadaśa[śa*]timaye 111 Śravaṇasa masasa di[va*]se paṁ[chada]śe 15.
12. Kāldarra: vasha 113 Śravaṇasa 20.
13. Mārguz: [vashe 1*]17.
14. Panjtār: saṁ 122 Śravaṇasa masasa di pradhame 1 maharayasa Gushaṇasa rajami.
15. Taxila silver scroll: sa 136 ayasa Ashaḍasa masasa divase 15 iśa divase . . . maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushaṇasa arogadakshiṇae.
16. Peshāwar Museum, no. 20: saṁ 168 Jeṭhamase divase paṁchadaśe.
17. Khalatse: saṁ 187 maharajasa Uvimaka[vthi]sasa.
18. Taxila silver vase: ka 191 maharaja[bhrata Maṇigulasa putrasa*] Jihoṇikasa Chukhsasa kshatrapasa.
19. Dewai: saṁ 200 veshakhasa masasa divase athame itra khanasa.

The Method of Date Recording:

A record fully dated in these groups gives:

The year of the era in figures and words; though it does not give any particular designation to the era as we find in later times,

the month, mostly in Sanskrit; the day, by its ordinal number,

e.g. No. 11, which means in the year 111, on the 15th day of the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. The months are all in Sanskrit, except in No. 6, in which the month is in Greek (*Panemos* ≐ *Āṣāḍha*). No. 6 alone of this group contains the rather mysterious phrase '*Etāye pūrvāye*' which means, 'before these'. This phrase, the meaning of which is not clear occurs in Kushāṇa (Group B) and even in Gupta inscriptions.

This method of dating is quite different from that of the contemporary Indian dynasts, which mentioned regnal years, the season, the *pakṣa*, and then probably the old *tithi* or the lunar day. But it agrees with the method followed in contemporary Parthia, which mentions the year usually in the Seleucidean Era, rarely in the Arsacid Era, the name of the month in Greek, and the ordinal number of the day, which range from 1 to 30. See Debevoise (1938). From No 10, it appears that the Indian months were *Pūrṇimānta*.

Group A:

None of the inscriptions of Group A, appear to be 'Royal Records' but some contain names of Kings, e.g. No. 6, which mentions a *Mahārājā Mahaṁta* Moga, who is taken to be identical with a king whose coins have been found in large number in Gandhāra. He calls himself '*Maues*' in the Greek inscription on the obverse, and *Moasa* (i.e. of Moa) in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. The title given there usually is *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Mahaṁtasa*. It is held that King Moga was a Śaka leader who starting from a base in Seistan or Arachosia, invaded Gandhāra through the southern route, sailed up the Indus, and ousted the Greek Archebius from Taxila, Artemidorus from Puṣkalāvatī and Telephos from Kapiśā

(Bachhofer, 1936) and founded a large empire comprising parts of Afghanistan, Gandhāra and the Panjab.

He is generally held to have been a Śaka, but some hold without sufficient reason that he was a Parthian. He is the first of Indo-Scythian kings known to numismatics. He was followed by other Indo-Scythian kings in Gandhāra, who are known from wide variety of coins issued, viz. Azes I, Azilises and Azes II. But there is no clear reference to them in these inscriptions except the word 'Ayasa' in Nos. 10 and 15, which is supposed to stand for Azes. But this has been disputed.

This series starts with the year 58, if Cunningham's reading of (1) with the additional reading of the King's name 'Moasa' is accepted. But even if we reject it, the series certainly starts with the year 68 in No. 5, and goes up to 136 at fairly small intervals, then to 168, 187, 191, 200. They are held to be dated in the same era, which is usually called the old Śaka Era, shortly called O.S.E. This is supported, to some extent, by the method of date-recording, but two eras may follow the same method of date-recording, without being identical.

GROUP B: The Kushāṇa Inscriptions after Kanishka:

24. Kanishka casket: saṁ 1 ma[harayasa] Kanishkasa.
25. Sui Vihār: maharajasya rajatirajasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya saṁvatśare ekadaśe saṁ 11 Daïsi(ṁ)kasya masas[y]a divase(ṁ) aṭhaviśe 28 [aya]tra divase.
26. Zeda: saṁ 11 Ashaḍasa masasa di 20 Utaraphaguṇe iśa kshuṇami . . . muroḍasa marjhakasa Kaṇishkasa rajami.
27. Māṇikiāla: saṁ 18 Kartiyasa majh[e] divase 20 etra purvae maharajasa Kaṇeshkasa.
28. Box lid: saṁ 18 masye Ārthamisiya sastehi 10 iś[e] kshunaṁmri.
29. Kurram: saṁ 20 masasa Avadunakasa di 20 iś[e] kshunaṁmi.
30. Peshāwar Museum, no. 21: maharajasa [Vajush]kasa saṁ [24 Jeṭhasa ?] masasa di . . . iśe kshunaṁmi.
31. Hidda: saṁbatśarae aṭhaviṁśatihi 28 masye Apelae sastehi daśahi 10 iś[e] kshunaṁmi.
32. Shakardarra: saṁ 40 P[r]oṭhavadasa masasa divas[ami] viśami di 20 atra divasakāle.
33. Ārā: maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa kaïsarasa Vajheshkaputrasa Kanishkasa saṁbatśarae ekachapar[i]śa[i] saṁ 41 Jeṭhasa masasa di 25 iś[e] divasakshuṇami.
34. Wardak: saṁ 51 masy[e] Arthamisiya sastehi 15 imeṇa gaḍrigreṇa . . . maharaja rajatiraja Hoveshkasra agrabhagrae.
35. Uṇḍ: saṁ 61 Chetrasa mahasa divase aṭhami di 8 iśa kshunami . . . Purvashaḍe.
36. Mamāne Ḍherī saṁ 89 Margaśirasra masi 5 iśe kshunami.

An incomplete date, *masasa di 25*, is further found in the Kāniza Ḍherī inscription.

The second group Nos. 24–36 contains Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kushāṇa kings after the first Kanishka. These and Kushāṇa Brāhmī inscriptions mention years from 1 to 98, the kings Kanishka I from 1 to 24, Vajheska from 24–28, Kanishka II of the year 41, Huvishka from 33–60, Vāsudeva from 62–98. The King's name and the titles are given in full, and in the genitive. The era is generally ascribed to the famous Kanishka. Their method of date-recording is the same as in Group A, viz. (see No. 25) the year of the era, the month name in Greek or Sanskrit, the *ordinal* number of the day, then the phrase equivalent to *asyāṁ pūrvāyāṁ* (before these), but in these inscriptions, it is expressed in the form *Ise kshunami* or its variant, which has been interpreted by Konow as equivalent of *asyāṁ* or *etasyāṁ pūrvāyāṁ* in the Khotani Śaka language which Konow thinks was the mother tongue of kings of the Kanishka group. In fact, kings of this group use a number of Khotani Śaka words, and from their wide range of coins are known to have put in a medley of Greek, Iranian, and Indian gods including Buddha on their coins, but the names of the gods are not in their original Indian, Iranian or Greek form but invariably in the form used in the Khotani Śaka language.

The method of date-recording followed by the Kushāṇas, in spite of its identity with that of Group A, shows some interesting variations. In the Kharosṭhī inscriptions, the months are mostly in Greek, less so in Sanskrit (*Caitra*, *Vaiśākha*, etc.). The days run from 1 to 30 and clearly they are not *tithis* but solar days. When we turn to Brāhmī inscriptions, we find that the month-names are mostly seasonal: *Grīṣma*, *Varṣā*, or *Hemanta* as in the Sātavahāna records. But since 4 is the maximum number attached to these, and the day numbers run from 1 to 30, the number after the season denotes a month, not a *pakṣa* and the days are solar. Thus G 4 denotes the fourth month of the *Grīṣma* season, viz. *Aṣāḍha*, and not the fourth *pakṣa* as was the case with the Sātávāhanas which would be the second half of *Vaiśākha*. *The pakṣa is given up*. This is a deviation from Sātavāhana method of date-recording and follows closely the Graeco-Chaldean method. Some inscriptions mention Greek months (e.g. *Gorpiaios* which is *Āśvinā* or *Bhādra* in Sircar's No. 49, p. 146), others Indian lunar months (e.g. *Śrāvaṇa* in No. 51), but their number is small compared with the seasonal mode of recording months. These inscriptions give no indication as to whether the month is *Pūrṇimānta* or *Amānta*. But the Zeda inscription of year 11 (No. 26 of Group B) mentions that the *Nakṣatra* was Uttaraphalguṇī on the 20th of *Āṣāḍha*, and (35) mentions that in the year 61, the *Nakṣatra* on the 8th day of *Caitra* was *Pūrvāṣādhā*. A comparison with tables of *Nakshatras* shows that the months ended in full moon (*pūrṇimānta*). As *pūrṇimānta* months were unknown outside India, the Kushāṇas must have yielded to Indian influence and adapted their original time-reckonings to the Indian custom, at least in their use of Indian months.

Historians and chronologists now almost unanimously hold that all these inscriptions of Group B are dated in the same era which is sometimes called the Kushāṇa era. This is said to be proved by the fact that the inscriptions range from year 1, and we have phrases as in No. 25 'of the *Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Devaputra* Kaṇishka, in the year 11. But a little more scrutiny shows that it is only a conventional phraseology, used in almost all Kushāṇa inscriptions, for even in as late an inscription as of year 98 of this group, we read 'Of the Mahārājā Vāsudeva in the year 98'. It is therefore by no means clear that such phrases can be interpreted to mean that Kanishka started an entirely new era. In fact, from Kanishka's profuse use of Greek months and Greek gods, in his inscriptions and coins, Cunningham was led to the belief that Kanishka dated his inscriptions in the Seleucidean Era, with hundreds omitted, so that year 1 of Kanishka, is the year 401 of S.E. and year 90 of the Christian Era.

The second important point brought out by L. de Leeuw is that 'No recording in Kushan era involving hundreds has yet been brought to light. It seems suddenly to have stopped with 98' (Vāsudeva's Brāhmī inscription (Lüders, 76).

But it has been known for some time that the Kushāṇa empire did not stop with *that* Vāsudeva who comes after Huvishka. Dr. L. Bachhofer (1936) has proved from numismatics the existence of

Kanishka III, reigning apparently after Vāsudeva I
Vāsudeva II, reigning after Kanishka III,

They appear to have retained full control of the whole of modern Afghanistan, including Bactria which appears to have been the home land of the Kushāṇas and some parts of the Panjab, right up to Mathurā. There is yet no proof for or against the point that they retained the eastern parts. Herzfeld had established that Vāsudeva II, who appears to have come after Kanishka III about 210 A.D., was deprived of Bactria by Ardeshir I, the founder of the Sasanid dynasty of Persia. The Sasanids converted Bactria into a royal province under the charge of the crown prince, who struck coins closely imitating those of the Kushāṇas. Vāsudeva II is also mentioned in the Armenian records of Moise of Khorene, a Jewish scholar, under the name Vehsadjan,[1] as an Indian king who tried to form a league with Armenia and other older powers against the rising imperialism of Ardeshir. Vāsudeva II is also thought to have sent an embassy to China about 230 A.D.[1]

The second Sassanian king Shapur I, claims to have conquered sometime after 240 A.D. 'Pskvr', which has been identified with Purushapura or Peshawar, the capital of the Kushāṇas. This has also been confirmed by the French excavations at Begram (Kāpiśī) in Afghanistan, which was destroyed by Shapur between 242 and 250 A.D. But this probably was not a permanent occupation, as a Kushāṇa King or Shah is mentioned in the Paikuli inscription of the Sasanid King Narseh (293–302 A.D.).

Kushāṇa Method of Date-recording in India:

It has been considered rather strange that the Kushāṇa way of date-recording should suddenly come to a dead stop on Indian soil with the year 98 of Vāsudeva I, and no records containing a year number exceeding 100 should be found on Indian soil.

The mystery appears now to have been successfully solved by Van Lohuizen de Leeuw in her book *The Scythian Period* (Pub. 1949). She has proved that several Brāhmī inscriptions in the Mathurā region bear dates from years 5 to 57 in which, following an old Indian practice, the figure for hundred has been omitted. Thus '5' stands for 105, '14' stands for 114 of the Kushāṇa era. One example will suffice (see pp. 242, 243 of *The Scythian Period*).

One and the same person Āryā Vasulā, female pupil of Āryā Saṅgamikā, holding the important position of a religious preacher in the Jaina community, is mentioned in two Brāhmī inscriptions (No. 24 and No. 70 of Lüders) bearing the year designations of 15 and 86 respectively, the date-recording being in the typical Kushāṇa style. The palaeographical evidence also shows that the inscriptions were recorded in the Kushāṇa age, though the name of the reigning monarch is not mentioned. Now it is clearly impossible that the same person would occupy such an important position from the year 15 to 86, a period of 71 years. L. de Leeuw therefore suggests that while 86 is the usual Kushāṇa year (reckoning from year 1 of Kanishka), '15' is really with hundred omitted and represents actually the year 115 of Kanishka, i.e. dates of the two inscriptions differ by 115 − 86 = 29 years, which is much more plausible. In other words, after the year 100 of the Kanishka era was passed, hundreds were dropped, in inscriptions found near about Mathurā.

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[1] Ghirshman thought that the Vāsudeva Kushāṇa of these references is Vāsudeva I, whose last reference is year 98. He equated year 98 of Kanishka's era to year 242–250 A.D., and arrived at the date 144 to 152 A.D. for the initial year of the Kanishka era. But the equation of this Vāsudeva with Vāsudeva I is wrong. This must be Vāsudeva II, or may be a still later Vāsudeva.

The author has sustained her ground by numerous other illustrations, and there seems to be no doubt in the mind of the present writer, that this is a brilliant suggestion and that hundreds were omitted *in certain parts* of the Kushāṇa dominion in the second century of the Kanishka era. L. de Leeuw has found such dates in no less than 7 instances bearing years 5, 12, 15, 22, 35, 50, 57 in which apparently 100 has been omitted, so that 57 really stands for 157, and if we take the Kanishka era to have started from 78 A.D. the date of the last one is 235 A.D. (157+78). Probably the name of the reigning king was not mentioned, as they had either lost control over these regions, or as the inscriptions were religious, it was not considered necessary. The second alternative appears to be more correct.

This is supported by the inscription on an image discovered by Dayaram Sahni in Mathurā in 1927. It mentions *Mahārāja Devaputra* Kanishka. But on palaeographic grounds, he can neither be Kanishka I (1–24) or Kanishka II (41), but a later Kanishka, coming after Vāsudeva I, and 14 is really year 114 of the Kanishka era. We may identify him with Kanishka III of Bachhofer.

So we come to this conclusion:

The records of Kushāṇa Kings, after Kanishka I range from year 1 to 98. In the second century of the Kaniska era, the hundreds are omitted and such records have been found up to year 157, i.e. year 235 of the Christian Era.

This raises a strong presumption that Kanishka was not the founder of the era, but he used one already in vogue, but omitted the hundreds. Thus year 1 of Kanishka is really year 1 plus some hundred, may be 1, 2, or 3. L. de Leeuw does not expressly suggest this, though it is apparent from her reasoning *that year I of King Kanishka is year 201 of the Old Śaka era* (*the suggestion is mine*). If this suggestion be correct, the Old Śaka era started in 123 B.C. (−122 A.D.) instead of in 129 B.C. as postulated by L. de Leeuw, if we take that Kanishka started reigning in 78 A.D.

GROUP C:

The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar discovered 5 inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī in the Peshawar region ranging from the year 303–399. They use the same style of date-recording as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions, and are taken to refer to the same era.

20. Loriyān Tangai: sa 318 Proṭhavadasa ḍi 27.
21. Jamālgaṛhī: saṁ 359 Aśpaï[u]sa paḍhaṁmaṁmi.
22. Hashtnagar: saṁ 384 Proṭhavadasa masasa divasaṁmi paṁchami 5.
23. Skārah Ḍherī: vasha ekuṇachaduśatimae (399) Ashaḍasa masasa di[vase 22].

In these the hundreds have not been omitted. The omission of hundreds appears to have been an Indian, not a foreign, custom and is referred to by Al Beruni.

6. OMISSION OF FIGURES FOR HUNDREDS IN THE COUNTING OF THE YEARS OF AN ERA.

The practice of omitting hundreds in the counting of the years of an era has been frequent in India and was noted by Al Beruni. He writes (Al Beruni's *India*, translated by Sachau, Vol. 2, p. 8).

'Common people in India date by the years of a *centennium*, which they call a *Saṁvatsara*. If a *centennium* is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one. The era is called *lokakāla*, i.e. the era of the Nation at large. But of this era people give such totally different accounts that I have no means of making out the truth.'

He gives an example.

'That this, indeed, is the nature of calculation is confirmed by a leaf of a canon composed by Durlabha of Multan, which I found by chance. Here the author says: 'First write 848 and add to it the *laukika-Kāla*, i.e. the era of the people and the sum is the Śaka kāla'.

Then from this rule, Al Beruni proceeds to find out the date of his own gauge year, the year 400 of the last Sassanian king Yedgdegird. This is the year 1031 A.D. one year after the death of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. If we write the first year of the Śaka *kāla* corresponding to our gauge-year, viz. 953 and subtract 848 from it, the remainder 105 is the year of the *laukika-kāla*, whilst the destruction of Somanātha falls in the 98th year of the *centennium* or *Laukika Kāla*. Al Beruni had mentioned earlier that the people count destruction of Somanātha as having taken place in the 99th year of *Laukika Kāla*.

The late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his appendix to the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 196, gives examples of the use of the *Laukika* Era in Kangra and Kashmir between 800 and 1400 A.D. Al Beruni mentions a mysterious Śrī-Harṣa era beginning in 457 B.C. prevalent in the Mathurā and Kanauj regions. Is it the original of Vikrama era?

7. THE OLD ŚAKA ERA

Indian classics of this period mention three distinct ruling races 'Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava' in the North-Western parts of India and in what is modern Afghanistan. The order in which they are given signifies some chronological sequence, for they are arranged in the order of their emergence in history. But chronologically, the Yavanas (Greeks) were the first to acquire the status of a ruling race, whose power in the west was overthrown by the Parthians or Pehlevis. Both of these ruling races used eras of their own, viz. the Seleucidean and the Parthian eras. Did the third race, viz. the Śakas who were the last to acquire the status of a ruling power ever use an era of their own?[1] It would be surprising if they did not, and many investigators have postulated the existence of an Old Śaka era, as distinct from the Indian Śaka era starting from 78 A.D. Different dates are given for the initial year of the old Saka era. These are:

Konow: 88 B.C. (date of death of Mithradates II, the powerful Parthian emperor who is said to have subjugated the Śakas.

Konow has proposed a number of other dates.

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[1] The history of the Śakas is not so well known as that of the Greeks (Yavanas), or the Parthians (Pehlevis). Though known to history since the time of Darius, they became politically conscious only since 150 B.C. Materials for their early history can be found only from Bactria and Seistan.

Jayaswal: 120 B.C.:
Herzfeld: 110 B.C.: Settlement of the Śakas in Seistan by Mithradates II.
Rapson: 150 B.C.: Establishment of the Śaka Kingdom of Seistan.
Tarn: 155 B.C.: Date of settlement of the Śaka immigrants in Seistan by Mithradates I.

L. de Leeuw has examined all these hypotheses in her book, *The Scythian Period,* Chapter I, and has rejected all of them in favour of 129 B.C. the year in which the Yuechi (i.e. the tribe of which the Kushāṇas were a branch) in association with other Śaka tribes defeated and killed the Parthian emperor Phraates II, and occupied Bactria. She maintains that all the records of Groups I, II and III are dated in this 'Era', so that Kanishka began to reign in (200 − 129) = 71 A.D.

A critical examination of the relevant passages, however, tell a somewhat different tale: they are quoted from de Leeuw herself (*The Scythian Period,* pp. 29–33).

'The Yueh-chih lived originally in the south-west part of the Gobi (the S.W. of Kan-su, between Tun-huang, and Ch'i-lien-shan). In the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Mao-tun (−209= −174), a powerful monarch of the Huns, greatly extended his kingdom at the cost of the neighbouring peoples, and so also the people of the Yueh-chih were subjugated by him in 177-176. Under his successor Lao-shang (about 174–160) it came to a bloody conflict between the Huns and the Yueh-chih, and the ruler of these last was slain.

'Ssu-Ma Ch'ien in his *Shih-chi,* speaking about the Yueh-chih, says: They are nomadic, they go hither and thither after their herds, they have the same customs as the Hsiung-nu. Their archers number about 10 or 20 myriads. They were originally strong and made light of the Hsiung-nu. When Mao-tun became ruler he attacked and defeated the Yueh-chih. It went so far that the Shan-yu Lao-shang of the Hsiung-nu killed the king of the Yueh-chih and made a drinking vessel of his skull.'

'This forced the Yueh-chih to leave their original fatherland. A small group separated and went to the mountains of North-East Tibet, the Richthofen range, and remained known in later Chinese communications as the Little Yueh-chih. The greater mass, from now on known to the Chinese as Ta-yueh-chih, i.e. the Great Yueh-chih, marched to the West and defeated the people of the Sai, in North Tien-shan, on the upper Ili, Chu and Naryn. This Sai is the general name for an Iranian (Scythian) people, known as Sakas in Persian and Indian sources. Several tribes of the Sai, sometimes also called Sai-wang, were driven to the South, others were assimilated, according to the *Ch'ien han shu,* with the Ta-yueh-chih.

'But the Ta-yueh-chih did not enjoy a peaceful life for long, for another race, the Wu-sun, fell upon the Ta-yueh-chih in turn, and again drove a part of them forward, while another part was subjugated by the Wu-sun together with the assimilated Sai. The *Ch'ien han shu* describes in detail how the Wu-sun and the Ta-yueh-chih formerly made war upon each other, whereby the ruler of the Wu-sun perished. His new-born son was taken by his guardian to the Hsiung-nu, the king of which brought up the child with much care. Growing up the boy distinguished himself by military successes. On reaching manhood the former subjects of his father were placed under his command. The K'un-mo (title of the Wu-sun kings) now asked permission to avenge his father, and having obtained that he moved westward and 'attacked and defeated the Ta-yueh-chih, who in their turn migrated to the west, and settled in the country of Ta-hsia. The K'un-mo took the mass of the people under his control and remained in the country, where he gradually raised a powerful army.

'Those of the Ta-yueh-chih, who marched again further westwards came at last in the neighbourhood of Ta-hsia, i.e. Bactria 'and made themselves master of it, but the Sai-wang went southwards and made themselves masters of Chi-pin. The Chinese ambassador Ch'ang Ch'ien who was sent out by Chinese to form an alliance between China and the Yueh-chih, arrived presumably in 129 B.C. when they were masters of Bactria.'

'As appears from the Chinese sources, there are two stages to be distinguished in this trek of the Yueh-chih: (1) the expedition from their original dwelling-place from which they were driven out by the Huns to North T'ien-shan; (2) the march from North T'ien-shan to Bactria after the attack by the Wu-sun.

'Three Japanese scholars have occupied themselves with the question in which period this migration of the Yueh-chih could have taken place. Finally, these sources have been considered again by Haloun and he comes to the conclusion that the opinion of Kuwabara and Yasuma is right, to which he adds some arguments of his own. The first period of the march of the Yueh-chih, namely, from Kan-su to the upper Ili, would therefore have taken place in the years 172–161, the second stage, from the upper Ili to the Amu-Darya territory, between 133–129 B.C.'

'This and other arguments, e.g. those of Haloun, Kuwabara, Jitsuzo and Yasuma Yaichiro seem, to us, to be proof enough that the Chinese sources indeed point to a conquest of Bactria by the Yueh-chih in about 129 B.C. Moreover, we shall see later on that the western sources also record the conquest in that year, so that we can fix the commencement of the old era in about 129 B.C.'

Thus according to L. de Leeuw, the starting year of the old Śaka Era is 129 B.C., when the Śaka tribes under the leadership of the Yue-Chi moved towards Bactria, and the Parthian emperor Phraates II was killed while trying to resist them. She makes this suggestion against Tarn's suggestion of 155 B.C. and Konow's suggestion of 88 B.C. and other suggestions about the starting date of the old Śaka Era. But the Parthian history gives a somewhat different version. This is taken from Debevoise's *Political History of Parthia*, p. 23 *et seq.*

Bactria was under Greek occupation till about 141 B.C., till the times of the great Parthian Emperor Mithradates I (171 B.C. to 137 B.C.) who had conquered the whole west up to Babylon from the Greeks. Sometime between October and December 141 B.C. he was called to the east by the news of the threatened invasion by Sakish tribes. He had earlier forced the Greek King Heliocles, son of Eukratides out of Bactria into the Kabul Valley, behind the safe shelter of the Hindu Kush mountains. Mithradates I died about 137 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Phraates II, who had to face hostility of the Seleucidean Greeks in the west. Debevoise says:

'But now fortune turns her back on the Parthians. The successor of Mithradates I, Phraates II (138–128) was involved in war against Syria and finally called in the aid of the 'Scythians', a powerful equestrian nation that could be a decisive factor in the struggle. However, when he refused to pay them, they mutinied and murdered Phraates, and having destroyed the whole of Parthia, returned to their own territories. Artabanus (128–123), the uncle of Phraates II, who in the meantime had succeeded his nephew, was just as unfortunate, for in a new war against the Scythians he also lost his life on the field of battle.'

This happened in the year 123 B.C., when the Yueh-chih and the Śakas took final possession of Bactria. This would just be the time for starting a New Era, and not 129 B.C., when the Yueh-chih and the Śakas have just invaded Bactria, and entered into a seven year conflict with the Parthians.

But the Yueh-chih and the Śakas were not destined to stay long in Bactria, for Artabanus's son Mithradates II, also called the Great, was able to reinstate and greatly enlarge the Parthian kingdom which had collapsed both in the east as well as in the west again. But it appears that his labours were at first confined to the west of the far-flung Parthian empire. We read in Devevoise's *History of Parthia*:

'His first task was the reduction of Babylonia and the defeat of the Characenean ruler; bronze coins of Hyspaosines overstruck with the titles and portrait of Mithradates in 121/20 B.C. furnish proof that this was accomplished.

'How much of eastern Parthia remained in the hands of the Sacae we do not know. Perhaps by this date the main force of the westward movement had been spent and the bulk of the invaders had turned southward.'

How far Mithradates II was able to turn his attention to the east is not known. Tarn's contention, on the basis of a coin-record that he was at Merv in 115 B.C. has been disproved. His known campaigns were mostly to the west, against Babylonia at first, as already narrated, then against Armenia. In his later years (90 B.C.), he appears to have had trouble with his satrap of satraps, Gotarzes, who issued coins in his own name in the west.

It is supposed but not proved that Mithradates II was able to inflict a defeat on the allied Yueh-chih and the Śakas, who had seized Bactria in 123 B.C. sometime during his long reign, as a result of which the Śaka lords (Sai-wang) went south and settled in Kipin, Śakasthāna or Seistan and Arachosia, which had already a Sakish population since the time of Darius. It is presumed that these Śakas were placed in some kind of vassalage to the great king, through his powerful feudatories the Surenas. There appears to have been a rift between the allied Śakas and the Yueh-chih or Arsi; the Yuechi retired to the upper Oxus basin, and were divided into five branches each ruled by a *Yabgou* (lord). They adopted the Khotani Śaka dialect as their language as shown by Konow. According to Chinese evidence, they remained in this condition for about a hundred years, when one of them, Kujula Kadphises of the Kushāṇa tribe conquered the rest, and formed a united monarchy. Later he conquered Bactria from the Parthians, and the Kabul Valley (Paropanisadae) from either the last Greek King Hermaios or his Śaka successor, and laid the foundations of the great Empire of the Kushāṇas.

What happened to the Śakas who migrated to Śakasthāna?

The period of Parthia's collapse after the death of Mithradates II appears to coincide with the time of the Śaka leader Maues or Moga, mentioned earlier, who must have conquered Taxila, if we can assume the genuineness of Cunningham's reading of the Maira record, before 65 B.C. He must have therefore started from his base in Seistan sometime before 70 B.C. during the time of Parthia's depression which started from 88 B.C. It is clear from his coin-records that he was more under the spell of Greek culture than Indian or Parthian, for on his coins he stamps his full titles in Greek and only on the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī, probably for the benefit of the indigenous population. He stamps a lot of Greek deities on his coins in a new style. There is no proof that he stamped Buddha on his coins, for a sitting figure on one type of his coins, which was formerly taken to represent Buddha, has been proved by Bachhofer to represent the sitting king. Though by assuming the title of the Great King of Kings, he asserted his equality with the Parthian power, he did not use any Parthian motif on his coins. It would be legitimate to suggest that the Era used in these regions would be the old Śaka Era which was started from 123 B.C., and it would be common to the Śakas who entered India by way of Arachosia by about 70 B.C., as also to the Yueh Chi who used it in the Upper Oxus basin home, from where it was carried to India by the Kushāṇas.

Thus the Śaka and the Kushāṇa eras become one and the same era.

We can next follow L. de Leeuw's reconstruction of the history of Śakas during this period. According to her interpretation, the Kings Vonones, Spalahora, Spalagadama, Spalirises whose coins are found in large numbers in Arachosia, Seistan and Drangiana ruled simultaneously with Maues who reigned in Gandhāra probably as a result of some understanding with him. Azes I, son of Spalirises, is taken to be the same Azes, who succeeded Maues in the Punjab after 45 B.C. and wrested further territory from the Greeks. L. de Leeuw thinks that Azes I, Azilises, and Azis II are one and the same person. This may or may not be correct.[1] But Marshall holds that Azilises reigned simultaneously with Augustus Caesar (31 B.C.–14 A.D.). His reign may be taken to have terminated about 25 B.C., and his successor Azes II had a very short reign. Azes's kingdom was occupied by the Parthian Gondophernes who might have started reigning somewhere in Eastern Iran about 45 B.C., but was in occupation of Taxila by 103 of O.S.E. i.e., by 20 B.C. It may be argued why should a Parthian use a Śaka Era? But the Taxila record of the year 103, in which Gondophernes is mentioned, is not a royal record. The donor uses the era prevalent in his own country, but is careful to add the 'Regnal Year' of the reigning King. L. de Leeuw thus departs from the current view that the year 103 refers to the Vikrama Era, and that Gondophernes is the King of St. Thomas legend who reigned from 19 A.D. to 45 A.D. and later. She thinks that this is a misreading of history, for Abdagasas, the nephew of Gondophernes who succeeded him in Eastern Iran and Seistan, is mentioned by Tacitus in 35 A.D. as a reigning king with a grown up son Sinnaces. Gondophernes's reign must have therefore come to an end about the beginning of the Christian Era, and the year 103 refers to 20 B.C., which is the 26th year of his reign.

Gondophernes was succeeded in his Indian dominions by Pakores and other Parthian kings, but after Gondophernes's death they were reduced to impotence by the growing power of the Kushāṇas who were gathering strength in the Kabul Valley. The first dated record so far found in which the Kushāṇas are mentioned is the Panjtar inscription, No. 14 of group A. According to our calculation, this would be 1 B.C. The next reference is found in the Taxila silver scroll, No. 15, which mentions the year 136. This would be 13 A.D. It is a record of a Bactrian envoy of the Kushāṇa king who makes a dedication in a Buddhist *Vihāra* for the recovery of his king. It is not known whether the Kushāṇa king, referred to in this record, is Kujula Kadphises. The next is No. 17, which according to Konow, mentions Wema Kadphises, and the date, according to our calculation is 65 A.D. All these records denote that the Parthian kings were not supplanted, but lived for a long time as roi faineants at Taxila, after the death of Gondophernes, as testified by the Greek traveller,

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[1] **Marshall gives arguments that Azes I, Azilises and Azes II are different persons.**

Apollonius of Tyana. There is no reason to identify King Phraotes of Apollonius with Gondophernes, on the supposition that this stands for *Apratihata*, one of Gondophernes's titles ; Phraotes is a good Parthian name. He may have been the last Parthian roi faineant ruling at Taxila under Kushāṇa protection as mentioned by Apollonius and was shortly after 44 A.D. supplanted by Wema Kadphises.

This reconstruction is quite plausible, as Kujula Kadphises is known to have reigned contemporaneously with the Julian Caesars, after Augustus (14 A.D. to 68 A.D.) and Wema Kadphises's profuse use in his coins of gold which is thought to have been derived from the large amount of gold coins minted by the Julian Caesars, and received in India through the flourishing trade channel, is taken to indicate his contemporanaeity with the later Julian Caesars.

The hypothesis that the old Śaka Era, started in 123 B.C. was used throughout Ariana and Gandhāra between 70 B.C. and 65 A.D. appears to clear up a period of great chronological uncertainty. But only fresh discoveries of dated inscriptions in present Afghanisthan and N.W. Punjab can establish the absolute correctness of the hypothesis.

According to our hypothesis, Kanishka's first dated record is in the year 201 of the old Śaka Era, and 78 A.D. of the Christian era. Thus the Kanishka Era and the Śaka Era are identical. We have now to explain how this Era was taken to the West by the Śakas of Maharastra and Ujjain.

8. DATE-RECORDING BY WESTERN ŚAKAS

The date-recording by the Western Śaka Kings are shown in Table 2. They belong to two groups.

Nahapāna—belonging to the Kṣaharāta tribe who reigned in the Poona district. The records relating to him mention year (of an unspecified era) generally identified with the Śaka Era, lunar month, *pakṣa*, and *tithi*, as would be demanded in a Siddhāntic system. The Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śri Sātakarṇi who claims to have uprooted the Kṣaharātas and restamped the coins of Nahapāna, and was therefore a contemporary, dated in the typical old Indian style, using the regnal years, season, *pakṣa* and day.

The rest of the records belong to the Ujjain Śakas of the Kārdamaka family. They use years of an era, Sanskrit lunar months, *pakṣa*, *tithi* and sometimes the *nakṣatra*. This is in full Siddhānta style. Note particularly No. 963 which proves that the month is *pūrṇimānta*.

TABLE 2

Date-recording by Western Śakas

Lüders	King	Year	Month	Day	*Tithi*	*Nakṣatra*
1133	'Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna.	41	Kārṭ S.		15	
962	R. Mk. S. Rudrasena	122	Vaiś V.		2	
963	R. K. S. Rudrasiṅha	103	Vaiś S.		5	Rohiṇī.
965	R. Mk. S. Rudradāman.	72	Mg. V.		1	
967	R. Mk. S. Rudrasena	127	Bhādra V.		5	
964^a	R. Rudradāman ..	52	Phālguna V.	(15 ?)	2	

(Ś—*Śukla pakṣa*, V—*Vahula* or *Kṛṣṇa pakṣa*).

It is generally thought that these Western Śakas were the vassals of the Kushāṇa emperors of the north, and took the era started by them but no unequivocal records in support of this view has yet been found. It is true that they call themselves *Mahākṣatrapas* and *Kṣatrapas*, and never take the imperial title. But at the same time, they nowhere in their records acknowledge their subordinate position to any imperial power. The alleged discovery of a headless stone statue bearing the name of Chasṭana in a *devkula* at Mathurā, which contained the statues of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka, has not been supported by Marshall. On the other hand, a critical examination of the coin-records, and the datings show significant differences. The coin-records of the Kushāṇas, Wema, Kanishka, some of Huvishka, Vāsudeva, show them to be wearing beards after Parthian style, clad in the central Asian dress, and making offerings before a fire altar and showing devotion to a multitude of deities—Greek, Iranian, Hindu, Buddhist. This reflects the nature of their widely flung empire, with its multitude of races and cultures.

It is supposed that the vassals would copy the style of dress of the overlords. Vide, for examples, the dresses of the Mughal nobility and of the British Indian officials. But the Śaka satraps, as shown on their coins, are clean shaven men, just like the older Śakas, Maues and Azes, but showing devotion to purely Indian deities. They use first Prākrit, but from the time of Rudradāman, use almost pure Sanskrit. They do not in the least resemble the Kushāṇas. Their relation to the Kushāṇas appear to be like that of Deccani Sultans to Mughal Padshahs.

In their datings also, the first Śaka Satraps use purely Indian months, and Indian method of day-enumeration.

Yet, they appear to use the same era with the difference that the Kushāṇas use the Graeco-Chaldean system of time-reckoning but the Western Satraps use typically Indian *pakṣa* and *tithi*. The sameness of the era is explained from the hypothesis that they both use the old Śaka Era, started in the Bactrian home of the Śaka-Yue chi's with hundreds omitted. But after their permanent settlement in India, the Era was continued to the end of the Satrapa rule in Ujjain (395 A.D.).

In inscriptions: The earliest authentic instance of the use of Śaka Era by name is supplied by the Badami inscription of Chālikya Vallabheśvara (Pulakeśin I of the Chālukya dynasty), dated 465 of the Śāka Era (*Śaka-Varṣeṣu Catuś-śateṣu pañca-Ṣaṣṭhi-Yuteṣu*; *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 8). In literature the use of the era by name appears still earlier. The *Loka-vibhāga* of Siṁhasūrī, a Digambara Jaina work in Sanskrit is stated in a manuscript to have been completed in 80 beyond 300 (i.e. 380) of the Śaka years (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 5).

The method of date-recording shown in No. 963 shows that the Siddhāntic system was in full use at Ujjain by 181 A.D.

There is a gap between the end of the rule of the Śaka Emperor Azes, (40 B.C. ?) and that of the earliest of the Ujjain Śakas, viz. Chasṭana (130 A.D.) which can only be filled by subsequent epigraphic discoveries in Seistan, Arachosia (modern Kandahar) and Sind.

9. Śaka and Sātavāhana Chronology

It has been known from inscriptions that some of the Śaka kings of Ujjain and the Sātavāhanas of Paithan have been contemporaries, but the Śaka-Sātavāhana chronology has proved to be extremely knotty in Indian History; vide, for full introduction, Prof. H. C. Ray Chowdhury's *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, Chapter IX.

This is due to the fact that the Sātavāhanas do not use any era, but only regnal years. The lists of royal names in the various *Purāṇas* are contradictory, and as the coins are not dated, they yield nothing but names. The Sātavāhanas are sometimes referred to in the inscriptions of the Śaka Satraps of Ujjain which are dated, but as the names given there are not sufficiently full or distinctive, these records often prove confusing. The style of nomenclature followed in recording royal names should be noted. A typical example is: Rājan Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. The first name Gautamīputra is a metronymic, denoting descent on the mother's side, Śrī is honorific, Sātakarṇi is the proper name. The metronymics are mostly confined to two—Gautamīputra and Vāśiṣṭhīputra, denoted by *G.* and *V.*, and the proper names are Sātakarṇi, Pulumāvi, Śiva, Yajña, etc. There are too few of them like Christian names in European royal families and many are repeated e.g. Sātakarṇi and Pulumāvi.

The anchor-point of the Śaka-Sātavāhana chronology is the contemporaneity of King Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi whose records have been found in Nasik, with the Śaka King, *Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī* Nahapāna, whose records are found in inscriptions found in the same region, all in early Brāhmī.

Let us examine these critically.

Sātavāhana records—

Lüders No. 1125: An inscription of King Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi Lord of Veṇākataka, near Nasik issuing order to his minister in the regnal year 18, V 2 Di 1 from his victorious camp.

Lüders No. 1126: Order of King communicated by the Queen (*Mahādevi*) of Rājan Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, whose son is living, to the minister in Nasik in the regnal year 24 G 2 Di 10.

The language shows that the king Gautamīputra was probably just dead and the son was minor for whom his mother, the late king's wife, was acting.

Lüders No. 1100, 1123, 1124, 1106 of King Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi, son of King G. Śrī Sātakarṇi of the regnal years 7, 19, 22, 24. Of these No. 1123 is the most important.

This is a long eulogy on the King's late father Rājarāja Śrī Gautamīputra who is said, amongst other things, to have destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas (Parthians), to have annihilated the Kṣaharātas, to have restored the fortunes of his family....The object was to record the gift of a great building to a society of Buddhist monks at the bidding of the King's grandmother, Gautamī Balsarī who was apparently still living then, for the satisfaction of the King's deceased father's soul. Along with his grandmother, his own mother and queen were associated in the gift.

The king of the Śaka tribe, Kṣaharāta who is claimed to have been uprooted is clearly identified with the *Kṣatrapa Svāmī* Nahapāna who is referred to in several records of his own, his son-in-law Uṣavadāta the Śaka, and his minister Ayama, in the years 41, 42, 45, 46 of some *unspecified* era; in these he is referred to as belonging to the Kṣaharāta tribe, his inscriptions are found in the Nasik region. Apparently there was a great war between the two kings, and the Śaka and his family were annihilated. There is no difference of opinion about this identification as a hoard of Nahapāna's coins have been found restruck by Gautamīputra. The era in Nahapāna's record is taken to be the usual Śaka Era, so that the date of Nahapana's destruction is $46+y$ of S.E. and therefore $124+y$ A.D., where y is the number of years elapsed since 46 S.E., when the incident took place.

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Further, Gautamīputra's son, King Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi claims in the inscription of his 19th regnal year that his father was in occupation of Ākarāvantī, so in 124+y A.D. Gautamīputra was in possession of Ujjain. But we find that in the year 52, which is *without doubt* in the Śaka Era, Ujjain was in occupation of the Śaka Satrap Chaṣṭana and his grandson Satrap Rudradāman who ruled conjointly with him. They belonged to a different family (Kārdamaka). So we have to assume that immediately or within one or two years after occupation of Ujjain, Gautamīputra was driven out by Chaṣṭana. This view has been held, but is not considered probable by many, for it is pointed out that the palaeography of Nahapāna and Gautamīputra is older than that of Chaṣṭana and Rudradāman. In fact, L. de Leeuw thinks that the era in Nahapāna's records is the old Śaka Era, so that the year 46 of Nahapāna is really −76 A.D. or 77 B.C. (or −83 A.D. according to L. de Leeuw). But such an early date for Nahapāna is excluded by the fact that the records of the earlier Sātavāhanas several generations before R. Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, viz. of Simuka, Kṛṣṇa and Sātakarṇi, is generally taken to start from about 50 B.C.

Let us make the hypothesis that in Nahapāna's record 100 has been omitted, and it is really 146 of the old Śaka Era, i.e. 24 A.D. and he was uprooted in 24+y A.D. in the regnal year 24−x of Gautamīputra (Lüders, 1126). Then we have the following datings.

Nahapāna is defeated in 24+y A.D. which is synchronous with Gautamīputra's 24−x regnal year.

So Gautamiputra's date of accession is $(24+y)-(24-x) = (x+y)$ A.D. x is probably 6, for in his 18th regnal year, Gautamīputra was camping in Nasik from which locality he had probably just driven out Nahapāna. We have no idea of the value of y.

The date of accession of Gautamīputra's son, King V Pulumāvi is therefore $x+y+24$ A.D. He must have reigned up to $x+y+24+(24+z)$, i.e. $48+x+y+z$, A.D. where z is the number of years he lived after the inscription of his 24th regnal year.

So King V Pulumāvi came to the throne after 30+y A.D., if we put $x = 6$, he reigned up to 54+y+z A.D., i.e. up to 80 or 90 A.D.

King V Śrī Pulumāvi is generally taken to be identical with Śri Polemaios, king of Baithana (Paithan, the Sātavāhana capital on the Godāvarī) referred to by the Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy, as a contemporary Indian ruler. Then V Pulumāvi's date would be between 128 and 150 A.D. and he would be a contemporary of Rudradāman. This is supposed to be confirmed by Rudradāman's boast in his Junagadh inscription of 150 A.D. that he defeated Sātakarṇi, the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha twice, but did not uproot him on account of the nearness of his relation with him. But this identification is unwarranted, as the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha referred to in Rudradāman's inscription of 150 A.D. is expressly stated to have borne the name Sātakarni and he is most probably the same person as Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi of Lüders 994, who is stated there to have married a daughter of *Mahākṣatrapa* Ru ( ), probably Rudradāman. It is wrong to identify him with Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi of the Nasik inscriptions.

A glance at the list of the Sātavahana inscriptions given in Table I shows a Gautamīputra Sāmi Siri-Yaña Sātkarṇi (Lüders, 1146). He appears to have been a different person from the celebrated Gautamīputra who uprooted the Śakas. A satisfactory Sātavāhana chronology is still to be made, and the suggestions made here are given in the hope that they may be useful.

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One additional line of argument in favour of the location of Gautamīputra in the first part of the first century A.D. may be given. King V Pulumāvi claims (Lüders, 1123) that his father Gautamīputra uprooted the Śakas, the Yavanas, and the Parthians. This cannot be a conventional boast, but a real one, as during this time, Indians could distinguish between the three ruling races. This achievement of Gautamīputra could have happened only in the first part of the first century A.D., as during this time only, the Parthians were ruling in Gandhāra, there were some remnants of Greeks in Eastern Panjab, and the Śakas were in Kathiawar, Saurāṣṭra and Sind. In the second century, i.e. about 124 A.D., the Parthians and the Greeks had been wiped out by the Kushāṇas for 50 years, and Gautamīputra had no chance of meeting them as adversaries. So he must be located in the first half of the first century A.D., as argued here.

10. Some Astronomical Notes.

(1) *Indian and Greek lunar months*:

The later Kushāṇas used both Indian and Greek lunar months. What was the correspondence between them ?

If we suppose that the Kushāṇas beginning from Kanishka originally came from Bactria, they probably used Macedonian months, in the same way as throughout the Parthian empire. These months were *Amānta*. Prof. A. Pannekock (1916) has calculated the initial Gregorian dates of the first lunar month *Nisan*, between the years 182–232 of the Seleucidean Era, and they always occur after the Vernal Equinox, i.e. March 21, and within a month of it. The *Nisan* is therefore *Vaiśakha Śuklādi* and corresponds to the *Amānta Vaiśakha*. The correspondence between Indian, Chaldean and Macedonian months worked out on this basis is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Lunar Month—Names

INDIAN	CHALDEAN		MACEDONIAN
CAITRA			
Vaiśakha	NISANNU	(30)	Artemesios
Jyaiṣṭha	Airu	(29)	Daisios
Āṣāḍha	Sivannu	(30)	Panemos
Śrāvaṇa	Duzu	(29)	Loios
Bhādra	Abu	(30)	Gorpiaios
Āśvina	Ululu	(29)	Hyperberetrios
Kārtika	Tasritu	(30)	DIOS
Mārgaśirṣa	Arah Samnah	(29)	Appelaios
Pauṣa	Kisilibu	(30)	Audynaios
Māgha	Dhabitu	(29)	Peritios
Phālguna	Shabat	(30)	Dystros
CHAITRA	Addaru	(29)	Xanthicos

Note: The months are all lunar, and *Amānta* (ending in new moon). The first month of the year is in capital letters. It has been *Caitra* in India, *Nisannu* in ancient Babylon, and *Dios* amongst the Seleucidean Greeks.

But the Kushāṇas used the '*Pūrnimānta* Indian months' as mentioned on p. 10. The *Pūrṇimānta* month, as calculated now, starts just one lunation before the *Amānta* month. A Macedonian month like *Panemos* therefore corresponds to *Amānta Āṣāḍha*, and therefore to half *Āṣadha* and half *Śravaṇa* in the *Pūrṇimānta* system.

This is on the supposition that the rules for inserting 'Intercalary' months were the same in the two systems. In Western Asia the Babylonian system of having 7 intercalary months in a cycle of 19 years was used since 383 B.C. They were the years 2, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16 and 19. In all of these years, the month of *Addaru*, corresponding to our *Amānta Caitra*, was duplicated, except on the 11th year, when the month of *Ululu* (*amānta Āśvina*) was duplicated. But the Indian Siddhāntic system of intercalation was quite different. They depend upon a theory of solar months, unknown to Chaldean astronomy, and if a lunar month falls wholly within a solar month it is duplicated. If a lunar month falls on both sides of a solar month, it is declared as *Kṣaya* month. Any month from *Caitra* to *Bhādra* can be duplicated while only *Pāuṣ* can be a *Kṣaya* month. But these rules came into vogue only after 500 A.D. In the VJ-system, only the lunar months of *Śrāvaṇa* and *Māgha* were duplicated in the five-yearly system.

(2) *Naming of the succession of days*:

The astronomical day is now counted from midnight to midnight, but this is rather a late custom. The West Asian nations counted the civil day from sunset to sunset, and the Indian astronomers of the Siddhāntic times from sunrise to sunrise. The days are counted now in cycles of seven (the seven day week), but this came into vogue about 323 A.D. in Europe, and in India, we have no evidence of the use of the seven day week before 484 A.D. Before the seven day week was in use, the counting and naming of the succession of days was a problem. The Hindus sought to solve this problem by using the concept of the *tithi* or the lunar day from very ancient times, but its meaning has undergone changes.

The definition of the *tithi*, in the Brāhmanas is *Yām paryastamiyāt abhyudayātīti sa tithi*, i.e. the *tithi* is that against which the moon sets (during the *Śukla pakṣa*) or the moon rises (during the *Kṛṣṇa pakṣa*). The *tithi* was therefore counted from moon-set to moon-set during the bright half, and moon-rise to moon-rise during the dark half. Three days of invisibility viz. *Caturdaśī*, New Moon, and *Pratipada* were assumed.

Prof. P. C. Sengupta has given an example of *tithi* calculation on this basis. On the full moon day, the moon neither rises nor sets, so it is of about 12 hour duration. The other *tithis* are slightly larger than 24 hours. According to this system, the same *tithi* is current for the whole day, so that *tithi* and Day become identical.

The system is crude and inconvenient, and was replaced in Siddhāntic times by precise mathematical rules.

According to Siddhāntic astronomy, the *tithis* of a half lunation, begin at the moment when either the full moon, or the new moon is completed. We have one *tithi* completed when the moon gains each 12° on the sun. Thus the first *tithi* of light half (*Pratipada*), which literally means moment of regeneration of the moon, begins when the new moon is completed (conjunction is full), and ends when the moon has gained 12° on the sun; the second *tithi* begins when the moon has just gained 12°, and ends when it has gained 24° on the sun and so forth. So there are fifteen *tithis* for each lunation, the full moon and the new moon being the last *tithis* of each lunation. The *tithis* are called by ordinal numbers, except the 15th ones, which are called *Paurṇamāsī* or full moon, and *Amāvasyā* or sun and moon living together.

The *tithi* may begin or end at any instant, which would be the same for all localities. But for civil purpose for any particular locality, the *tithi* at sunrise is the *tithi* current for the day. Thus the particular *tithi* current for Delhi may be a day later than the *tithi* for an eastern station, say Calcutta, if the *tithi* which was current for Calcutta sunrise has expired before the sunrise at Delhi which is about an hour later. This may cause difference of a whole day for the celebration of a religious festival. Thus the birthday of Kṛṣṇa, is to be celebrated on the eighth *tithi* of the dark half of *Bhādra*. It fell on August 12, 1952 at Calcutta but on August 13 at Delhi, in 1952.

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THE DATE OF KHĀRAVELA[1]

By Sri Krishna Chandra Panigrahi

(*Paper received on 3rd April, 1952*)

The Hātīgūmphā inscription having been badly damaged, we should in the first instance pick out such references in the epigraph as are likely to provide us with clues to the age of Khāravela, and about the reading of which there is a substantial agreement among later scholars who, profiting by the mistakes of the earlier epigraphists, have finally deciphered it. These references are as follows[2]:

1. In the third line there is a reference to Sātakarṇī (*Dutiya ca vase acitayitā Sātakarṇiṁ*) whom 'not bringing into (his) thought' Khāravela is said to have 'caused a multitudinous troops of horses, elephants, footmen and chariots to move on to the western quarter'.[3]

2. The thirteenth line refers to Bahasatimita who has pointedly been spoken of as the king of Magadha (*Māgadhaṁ ca rājānaṁ Bahasatimitaṁ*) and whom Khāravela is said to have compelled to bow at his feet. In the same line Khāravela is credited with having 'caused the honoured seat of Jina belonging to Kaliṅga which was taken away by king Nanda to be brought back from Aṅga and Magadha to Kaliṅga'.

3. In line 6, the epigraph refers to a canal that was 'opened out by king Nanda, a hundred and three years back' (*ti-vasa-sata*), and which was caused to be brought into his capital from the Tanasuli road by king Khāravela.

Since there is a substantial agreement about the reading of Sātakarṇi, Bahasatimita and Nandarāja, the correct identification of any one of them will go a long way in fixing up the date of Khāravela. To us Dr. B. M. Barua's identification of Nandarāja of the epigraph with Aśoka [4] seems to be most probable, although we do not agree with any of his other conclusions made on the basis of this identification. There is more than one reason why Nandarāja of Khāravela's inscription should be identified with Aśoka. In the first place, as Dr. Barua has observed, 'It is almost conclusive from the statements of Aśoka's R.E. XIII that Aśoka was the first among the Indian kings reigning after Buddha's demise to conquer the theretofore unconquered land of the Kaliṅgas (*avijitaṁ vijinituṁ*) and annex the same to his own kingdom'.[5] Secondly, among known Indian kings of the pre-Christian era, Aśoka is the only one person who is known to have undertaken the construction of large irrigation works. Pushyagupta, his grandfather Chandragupta's governor in the western provinces, began a large irrigation work at Girinagara (Girnar) in Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawar), but it was Aśoka who completed it under the superintendence of his viceroy Tushāṣpha.[1] The name Tushāṣpha indicates that he was a foreigner, possibly a Persian, and it seems most likely that Aśoka undertook the construction of several irrigation works under the superintendence of the skilled engineers imported from other countries of Asia. If he could undertake a vast irrigation project in a far off western province of his empire, there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that he would have constructed a canal in Kaliṅga, a newly conquered kingdom, for which he has shown special solicitude in his separate Kaliṅga Edicts. There is no evidence to show that the Nanda kings of whom Mahāpadma Nanda was the most prominent, ever undertook the construction of irrigation works for the benefit of their subjects ; on the other hand, we have it on the authority of the Purāṇas and the Greek sources that they were greedy, oppressive and most unpopular among their subjects. Aśoka would thus appear to be the Nandarāja of Khāravela's inscription, who had constructed a canal in Kaliṅga and who had taken away the honoured seat of Jina from the same country as a war trophy which was recovered by Khāravela. If this identification is considered sound, the epithet Nandarāja applied to Aśoka need not frighten us, because there is no evidence yet discovered, which can prove that during the age of Khāravela Aśoka was known as a Maurya king or that he was not known as a Nanda king. On the contrary, his grandfather Chandragupta has been represented as *Nandānvaya*, *pūrva-nanda-suta* and *Maurya-putra* in the Brahmanical works, and it is only in the Buddhist works that his family members have been known as Moriya Kṣatriyas.[2]

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[1] The recent discovery of some Yakṣa images from Bhubaneswar (Orissa), closely similar to those of the Sāñchi Stūpa, has prompted the writer to reopen the much discussed problem of Kharāvela's date and to re-examine the entire series of data connected with it.

[2] B. M. Barua—*Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 7–30. We have adopted here the reading, the English translation and the numbering of the lines of the Hātīgūmphā Inscription, as given by Dr. B. M. Barua in his above work. It may, however, be noted that the numbering of the lines as given by him, does not tally with the same given in *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, by Dr. D. C. Sircar.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 40–47.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

Since Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga about 261 B.C. and engraved his rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada about 257 B.C., the date of the construction of the canal referred to in the Hātīgumphā inscription, should fall somewhere in the neighbourhood of these dates. Most probably the construction of the canal and the engraving of the inscriptions took place simultaneously. Now, since the interval between the construction of the canal by Nandarāja and the fifth year of Khāravela's reign has been given as *ti-vasa-sata*, the correct interpretation of this compound will enable us to fix up the date of Khāravela. But unfortunately there is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars about its interpretation. Some interpret it as 300 years and others, as 103 years, and even Dr. B. M. Barua who has been the last scholar to take great pains to decipher the Hātīgumphā inscription, has not made up his mind whether *ti-vasa-sata* would mean 103 or 300 years.[3] He has not noticed a clue in Khāravela's inscription itself which may lead to the correct interpretation of this compound. There can be no difference of opinion that the compounds *ti-vasa-sata* of line 6 and *satadasa-leṇa-sata* of line 14, are similar grammatical constructions and must have therefore followed the same grammatical rules. But while interpreting *satadasa-leṇa-sata* as meaning one hundred and seventeen caves, he should not entertain any doubt whether *ti-vasa-sata* stands for 103 or 300 years. The compound *satadasa-leṇa-sata* admits of only one interpretation, viz. one hundred and seventeen caves but not seventeen hundred caves, because the latter interpretation would land us in an absurd proposition that Khāravela and his relatives excavated 1,700 caves in the Kumārī Parvata which is identified with the tiny hillock of Udayagiri. Similarly the compound *ti-vasa-sata* can admit of only one interpretation, viz. 103 years, but not 300 years. Therefore the fifth year of Khāravela's reign will be (257 – 103) = *c.* 154 B.C. and the beginning of his reign has to be placed in *c.*159 B.C.

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[1] V. A. Smith—The Early History of India (4th Edition), p. 139.

[2] H. C. Raichaudhuri—*Political History of Ancient India* (4th Edition), pp. 216-17 and fn. 2 of p. 216.

[3] *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 281.

The reign-period of Khāravela thus falls within the rule of Pushyamitra Śuṅga (*c.*184 B.C.–148 B.C.), but the Magadhan king referred to in the Hātīgumphā inscription is not Pushyamitra but Bahasatimita, apparently a Prakrit form of Bṛihaspatimitra. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal tried to solve the difficulty by identifying Bṛihaspatimitra with Pushyamitra 'on the ground that Bahasati or Bṛihaspati finds mention in the Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛihya-Sūtra as the presiding deity of the Puṣya constellation of stars'.[1] This identification may be a rare example of scholarly ingenuity, but it will be acceptable to none. As a matter of fact, although the name Bāhasatimita or Bṛihaspatimitra occurs on some inscriptions and coins of Northern India, the king Bahasatimita of Magadha, the contemporary of Khāravela, still remains unidentified. Much of the difficulty will perhaps disappear, if he is identified with Bṛihaspati whom the Divyāvadāna represents as the son of Samprati,[2] the grandson of Aśoka. The objections that are likely to be raised against this identification are that the name of Bṛihaspati of the Divyāvadāna does not end with 'mitra', that he is known from a single source, and that it is difficult to suppose the existence of a scion of the Maurya Dynasty as the king of Magadha after the usurpation of the Magadhan throne by Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

Such difficulties are however inherent in the nature of the materials with which we are trying to reconstruct the history of a dim past. It will be too much to expect that the Divyāvadāna, which has preserved some historical traditions, could have accurately preserved the name of a Magadhan king. In fact such inaccuracies of the Purāṇas have not prevented scholars from utilizing them as a source of history or identifying the discrepant names found in them with the accurate ones of the coins and inscriptions. Udāka, Bhāgabhadra and Simuka of the inscriptions have respectively been identified with Oḍraka (Āndhraka, Bhadraka, etc.), Bhāga (Bhāgavata, etc.)[3] and Śiśuka (Sindhuka, Chismaka, etc.)[4] of the Purāṇas; and, Jeṭhamitra and Indramitra of the coins, with Vasujyeṣṭha (Sujyeṣṭha) and Vajramitra of the Purāṇas.[5] The contemporary Hātīgumphā inscription has correctly given the name of the Magadhan king as Bahasatimita or Bṛihaspatimitra which has been preserved in the tradition in the abbreviated form of Bṛihaspati. The suffix *mitra* in Bṛihaspatimitra of Khāravela's inscription cannot also be taken as a sure indication of his Śuṅga origin, for, among the ten Śuṅga kings mentioned in the Purāṇas, only four names are found with that suffix.[6] The name Bṛihaspatimitra being a common name among the contemporaries of the later Mauryas and early Śuṅgas, it will be unreasonable to think that it was monopolized by any particular dynasty.

The fact that Bṛihaspati has been mentioned as a successor of Aśoka only in the Divyāvadāna and in no other source, will not go against the proposed identification, if other evidences do not conflict with it. On the other hand, if other evidences support such an identification, the traditions preserved in the Buddhist literature about the successors of Aśoka should be taken as more reliable. The existence of only a single successor of Aśoka, viz. Daśaratha, has so far been proved by the inscriptions,[1] while about nine other successors mentioned in the Purāṇas and one mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, no corroborative evidence is available.[2] Under the circumstances it will be unwise to prefer any of the sources of our information to the exclusion of others. It is obvious that the accounts that have come down to us from the Buddhist and Brahmanical sources about the successors of Aśoka, are fragmentary and in some cases, fictitious and might have even been tinged with a sectarian rancour. Each of these sources seems to have preserved a part or parts of the truth, but not the whole of it. The validity of their accounts can be tested only by corroborative evidences. When a contemporary inscription vouchsafes the existence of a Magadhan king named Bṛihaspatimitra, we should take Bṛihaspati of the Divyāvadāna as one of the successors of Aśoka. The word Bṛihaspati by itself could not have stood for the name of any king of this period, because the names of the deities who were supposed to be patrons or protectors, invariably occur in conjunction with *gupta* or *mitra* to constitute the names of the kings and other high dignitaries of this epoch, e.g. Chandragupta, Pushyagupta, Pushyamitra, Jyeṣṭhamitra, Phālguṇimitra, Bṛihaspatimitra, Agnimitra, Bhūmimitra, Indramitra, etc. There is therefore all the more reason to think that the name of Bṛihaspatimitra, a successor of Aśoka, has merely been abbreviated in the Divyāvadāna into Bṛihaspati.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. I, p. 96 fn. (108) and *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 511.
[3] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 521.
[4] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 63.
[5] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 479.
[6] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 518.

The existence of a scion of the Maurya dynasty even after the *coup d' état* staged by Pushyamitra Śuṅga will not appear inconsistent with the known facts of Indian history. Pushyamitra Śuṅga has never been styled as king but has always been given the appellation of *senāpati* or commander-in-chief in all the records from which we know him. This clearly indicates that he never assumed the title of king, nor did people accept him as such, and consequently there must have been a king of Magadha even when he was its virtual ruler. It seems most likely that after murdering Bṛihadratha, he set up on the throne of Magadha a scion of the Maurya dynasty as a titular king and although he was the king-maker, he satisfied himself with his former title *senāpati*. Had he ever become king, Dhanadeva of the Ayodhyā Inscription,[3] who wanted to take pride in his connection with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, would not have referred to him simply as *senāpati*. The tradition recorded in the Divyāvadāna has made a confusion and has represented Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of Bṛihaspatimitra, as his successor. Pushyamitra Śuṅga was indeed more than a king and was free to control the religious and foreign policy of the State. This type of political anomaly is not unfamiliar in Indian history. The latest examples are the Brahmin Peshwas of the Marhatta Empire and the prime-ministers of Nepal. Therefore it seems most probable that Bṛihaspati of the Divyāvadāna was the king of Magadha when Khāravela attacked it. It will be useless to attempt to establish his exact relationship with Aśoka or his grandson when our sources of information furnish us with such conflicting accounts, some recensions of the Puranic list giving the number of Aśoka's successors as ten; some of them, as only six; the Divyāvadāna, as six; Tāranātha, as three and the Rājataraṅgiṇī, as one.[4] The name of a governor of Chandragupta Maurya was Pushyagupta and therefore so far as names are concerned, it is not inconsistent or improbable that the name of the commander-in-chief of Bṛihaspatimitra Maurya was Pushyamitra.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 512.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 511.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 511.

It appears, therefore, that Bṛihaspatimitra was the king of Magadha when Khāravela attacked Pāṭaliputra in the twelfth year of his reign. According to the chronology adopted by us here, this second attack of Magadha by Khāravela would have taken place in 147 B.C. when Pushyamitra Śuṅga's rule would have just ended. It seems that so long as Pushyamitra Śuṅga was in power, it was not possible for Khāravela to attack Pāṭaliputra. Indeed such a position can be inferred from the events of the eighth year of his reign, when Khāravela is spoken of as having crossed or killed Gorathagiri[1] and as causing 'terrible pressure to be brought upon the people of Rājagṛiha' and then as retreating to Mathurā. This appears unusual when one considers the fact that his natural target of attack was Pāṭaliputra. It seems that Khāravela received a strong opposition from the Magadhan army at Rājagṛiha, which checked his advance upon Pāṭaliputra and so he had to create a diversion by attacking Mathurā which was probably included in the Magadhan empire. He had to choose an opportune time for his second attack on Magadha and that opportune time seems to have been provided by the end of Pushyamitra Śuṅga's rule. With the weak king Bṛihaspatimitra on the throne of Magadha, it would have been comparatively easy for Khāravela to attack Paṭaliputra and compel the reigning king to bow at his feet and to part with the honoured seat of Jina formerly carried away to Magadha from Kaliṅga by one of his predecessors.

The political situation of Paṭaliputra after the end of Pushyamitra Śuṅga's rule is extremely obscure. He was the dominating personality of his age who eclipsed all others and who has therefore loomed large in the Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions because of his performance of two Aśvamedha sacrifices and also for his anti-Buddhist activities. Although the Purāṇas speak of a number of his successors, their connection with Magadha and Pāṭaliputra has not yet been attested to by the discovery of any archaeological evidence. The *mitra* coins, the issuers of some of which have been sought to be identified with the Śuṅga kings, have been abundantly found in the north particularly in Kauṣāmbī (Kosām near Allahabad) and Ahichchhatra (Bareily district), but they have been conspicuous by their absence in Magadha proper. Indramitra whose coins were discovered at Kumrāhār, the site of ancient Paṭaliputra,[2] does not appear in the Puranic list of the Śuṅga-Kānvāyana kings. It seems that after the death of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, several branches of his family established themselves in different parts of India, while Pāṭaliputra with its surrounding area remained in the possession of a scion of the Maurya dynasty. The existence of a Maurya ruling family at Pāṭaliputra as late as the seventh century A.D. is attested to by the testimony of Yuan Chwang.[3]

The hostility that existed between Kaliṅga and Magadha during the rule of Pushyamitra Śuṅga seems to have been reflected in a grammatical example given in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Pātañjali, who is generally taken to be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Pātañjali, while explaining a *vārtika* connected with the conjunction *Lit* which is used in the sense of *parokṣa* when outright denial is intended, illustrates the rule by making somebody say, 'Verily I did not visit the Khaṇḍika country, nor did I visit the Kaliṅga country'.[1] As Dr. V. S. Agrawala rightly points out, Pātañjali seems to have put this example in the mouth of a spy of Kaliṅga who, caught by the imperial officers of Magadha, wants to escape the situation by making a downright denial of his knowledge of Kaliṅga and Khaṇḍika countries.

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[1] Dr. B. M. Barua takes Gorathagiri to be the name of a king, while Mr. R. D. Banerji thinks that it was the ancient name of the modern Barabar hills in the Gaya District. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 79.

[2] *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 58.

[3] Watters—*On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 115.

Apart from the synchronism of Khāravela with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, as discussed above, another synchronism is furnished by the reference to Sātakarṇi in the Hātīgūmphā Inscription. This Sātakarṇi is described as the lord of the west and has apparently to be identified with a king of the Sātavāhāna dynasty of the Deccan. There are several kings of the name of Sātakarṇi in that dynasty and a definite identification of the Sātakarṇi of the Hātīgūmphā Inscription will rest as much on the evidence of the palaeography of this inscription as on the determination of the Sātavāhāna chronology. According to Bühler, the palaeographical indications are that the Hātīgūmphā Inscription of Khāravela, the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā, queen of Sātakarṇi, and those belonging to the period of the last Mauryas and the early Śuṅgas are all contemporary and that they all belong to the second century B.C.[2] The opinions of the Indian epigraphists about the age of Khāravela's inscription are at variance, but nevertheless, they all, except Dr. B. M. Barua, agree in placing it in the second or first century B.C.[3] Dr. B. M. Barua, as already noted, places Khāravela in the first century A.D.[4] His conclusions about the date of Khāravela and Śrī Sātakarṇi of the Sāñchi Stūpa Inscription, whom he identifies as Sātakarṇi of the Hātīgūmphā Inscription, are based on an overestimation of the value of the Purāṇas as a source of history, whereas their limitations and defects as such have been obvious to all. The Purāṇas place the rise of the Āndhras (Sātavāhānas) after the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas and in spite of the limitations of the Purāṇas this statement has been emphasized to the neglect of other evidences. The evidence of palaeography is a variable factor at this time and scholars are aware that no definite conclusion can be drawn within a century. The inscriptions of Khāravela and those of the early Sātavāhānas can well be placed in the second century B.C., as several scholars have shown, and it may not be thought reasonable to lay too much stress on a statement of the Purāṇas, the value of which as a source of history is doubtful. It will be well to quote a few lines from the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (p. 522), which indicate the defect of the Purāṇic chronology for the reconstruction of the history of this period:—

> 'The Purāṇas have been edited, and, in the process, much of their value as records has been destroyed. Certain incidental statements, however, have escaped the editor; and these seem to show that the Kāṇvas and the Śuṅgas were contemporary. The Kāṇvas, who are expressly called "ministers of the Śuṅgas", are, in some versions, said to have become kings "among the Śuṅgas"; and, as has been observed already, the Āndhras are credited with sweeping away not only the Kāṇvas, but, also "what was left of the Śuṅgas' power". With regard to the Āndhras, the more certain evidence of inscriptions assigns them to a period which is in flagrant contradiction to the position which they occupy in the Purāṇas.'

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[1] *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 241-42.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 530, 535.

[3] *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 145–153; D. C. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 207, fn. 7.

[4] *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 277.

It is possible thus that the dynasty of Khāravela in Kaliṅga and that of the Sātavāhānas in the Deccan rose simultaneously as a result of the decline of the Maurya power after Aśoka. It is not unreasonable to assume that the murder of Bṛihadratha by his general served as the signal for the disintegration of the central authority, and emboldened the provinces to break loose from the same. The rise of these two dynasties may be placed at about the same time. Apparently Sātakarṇi, the rival of Khāravela in the west, has to be identified with a Sātavāhāna king of that name. Of the Sātakarṇis mentioned in the Purāṇas, the first two closely follow each other. Apart from the reference in the Hātīgūmphā Inscription, the name Sātakarṇi has also been mentioned in a Nānāghāṭ inscription and in a Sāñchi epigraph, and apparently alluded to in a long inscription from Nānāghāṭ. Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Hātīgūmphā Inscription, has usually been identified with Sātakarṇi, husband of queen Nāganikā of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions,[1] though some scholars differentiate the two and identify Sātakarṇi of the Hātīgūmphā Inscription with Sātakarṇi mentioned in a Sāñchi epigraph.[2] There are other scholars who identify all these three.[3] Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions has usually been identified with Sātakarṇi I of the Purāṇas. From the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions he appears to be a powerful and ambitious ruler. Khāravela was an equally powerful and ambitious king as the Hātīgūmphā Inscription indicates, and it is possible that in his designs he found an adversary in Sātakarṇi I who has been described as the lord of the west in his epigraph. Sātakarṇi of the Sāñchi epigraph, which is placed palaeographically later than the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions, was probably Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇas.

This identification is also borne out by the recent archaeological discoveries at Bhubaneswar. The three Yakṣa images that were recently discovered by the present writer from Dumdumā, a village situated near the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri, are strikingly similar in their standing posture, dress and ornaments, to the Yakṣas carved on the western gate of the Sāñchi Stūpa.[4] After a close comparison of the Yakṣas of Dumdumā and Sāñchi, the conclusion becomes unavoidable that they were all carved by the same school of artists. It is noteworthy that, while the miniature Yakṣas of the Sāñchi and Dumdumā type occur in the Rāṇī Gumphā and Gaṇeśa Gumphā of the Udayagiri and in the Ananta Gumphā of the Khaṇḍagiri, they are conspicuous by their absence in the caves that bear the inscriptions of Khāravela, his chief queen, Aira Mahārāja Kaliṅgādhipati Kaṁḍapa-siri and Kumāra Vaḍrekha. It is to be further noted that, on stylistic considerations, Sir John Marshall and Dr. Stella Kramrisch have placed those caves which bear the Yakṣa images just mentioned above, at the lower end of the evolution of the earlier group of the cave temples at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri.[5] The conclusions should therefore be that the Yakṣa images of the Sāñchi type came to be carved in the caves of these hillocks when the reigns of Khāravela and his probable successors Kaṁḍapa-siri and Vaḍrekha, had been over, and that these images and those discovered from the village Dumdumā were the result of a contact between Bhubaneswār and Sāñchi which, as the Sāñchi inscription proves, was in the occupation of the Āndhra-Sātavāhānas under Sātakarṇi II. The excavations and clearance of ancient sites at Śiśupālagarh (Bhubaneswar),[1] Śālihundram, Rāmatīrtham and Saṅghārāma,[2] have brought to light a number of coins of the later Sātavāhānas, which indicate that there was a period of Āndhra-Sātavāhāna contact with Kaliṅga. The conflict of Kaliṅga with the Sātavāhānas dates back from the reigns of Khāravela and Sātakarṇi I. The history of Kaliṅga after Khāravela is obscure and it is possible that this conflict ended with the fall of Khāravela's dynasty and his empire in the time of Sātakarṇi II.

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[1] *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 213.

[2] *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 145–153.

[3] Prof. G. V. Rao has tried to identify Sātakarṇis of the Hātīgūmphā, Nānāghāṭ and Sāñchi inscriptions as one and the same king. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1949, pp. 62–65. But his observations are mainly based on hypothetical inferences and have not yet been accepted by other scholars.

[4] *J.A.S.*, Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 2, Pls. VII, Figs. 5, 6 and VIII, Fig. 7; Marshall—*Monuments of Sāñchi*, II, Pls. LVII and LIX.

[5] *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 303–314.

Some scholars would read a passage in the Hātīgūmphā Inscription as *Yavana-rāja Dimita*. The reading *Dimita* is, however, doubtful and Dr. B. M. Barua rejects it altogether.[3] From the chronology of Khāravela, as we have tried to ascertain above, it appears that Yavana-rāja mentioned in the inscription might possibly refer to the Bactro-Greek King Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, who was possibly the Yavana invader of Sāketa and Madhyamikā referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Pātañjali.[4] It is not impossible that Khāravela of Kaliṅga also took a conspicuous part in repelling the Yavana menace. It may be noted that the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā* speaks about a Yavana expedition to Mathurā; and it is significant that the Hātīgūmphā Inscription mentions Yavana-rāja along with Mathurā.

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[1] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.

[2] *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 51.

[3] *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 18, fns. 16 and 17. Dr. Barua also says that the fifth letter of the reading *Yavana-rāja* is distinctly *da* and not *ja*. Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 208, fn. 9, however, maintains that the reading *Yavana-rāja* is clear, but *Dimita* or *Ḍimita* is doubtful.

[4] *History and Culture of the Indian People*, II, *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 106-7.

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SAKNĀT-SANKĀT-SANKNĀT OF THE *ṬABAQĀT-I-NĀṢIRĪ*

By Sri D. C. Sircar

(*Paper received on 5th September, 1952*)

There is a confusion regarding the identification of the geographical name variously given as Saknāt (سکنات), Sankāt (سنکات) and Sanknāt (سنکنات) in the manuscripts of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by Minhājuddīn of Sirāj in his account of Muḥammad Bakhtyār's conquest of Nūdīa (Navadvīpa, Nadīā on the Bhāgīrathī in South-West Bengal) in the dominions of the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The text of Minhājuddīn's work was published in Calcutta in 1864 and was translated by Raverty in 1881. A translation of parts of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* was also incorporated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II.

Minhājuddīn says that, on the eve of Bakhtyār's invasion, many people of Nūdīa 'went away to the country of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt, and to the cities of Bang and Kāmrūp; but Rāi Lakhmanīa did not like to leave his territory' (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 308). In Raverty's translation, the passage in question runs as follows: 'Most of the Brāhmaṇas and inhabitants of that place retired into the province of Sankanāt-Saknāt, the cities and towns of Bang, and towards Kāmrūd; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Lakhmanīa'. On the fall of Nūdīa, 'Rāi Lakhmanīa went towards Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt and Bang where he died. His sons are to this day rulers of the territory of Bang' (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 309). In Raverty's translation we have, 'Lakhmanīa got away towards Sankanāt-Saknāt and Bang, and there the period of his reign shortly came to a termination. His descendants up to this time are rulers in the country of Bang' (*op. cit.*, p. 558).

Stewart in his *History of Bengal* took Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt to be identical with Jagannāth (Jagannātha-pūrī), i.e. modern Purī in Orissa, and Dowson drew the attention of scholars to this view. But Minhājuddīn makes it clear that Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt was the name of a country or province and not a city like Purī and that it was adjacent to Bang (Vaṅga having in this age its headquarters at Vikramapura in the Dacca district of East Bengal) or at least lay in the direction of Bang from the Nadīā side. It appears moreover that with the loss of the Nadīā-Lakhnautī (Gaur) side, i.e. the western part of the Sena kingdom, Lakṣmaṇasena took shelter in the eastern part of his dominions. It is impossible to infer from Minhājuddīn's evidence that the Sena king left his dominions and took shelter at the court of the contemporary Gaṅga king of Orissa, who was one of his enemies (cf. *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 107).

Commenting on the passages quoted from Elliot and Dowson's work in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Hodivala says, 'Dowson notes that Sanknāt is also written Sankāt and Saknāt and he asks if it is not Jagannāth. But Minhāj states a few lines lower down that Lakhmanīa himself fled to *Sanknāt and Bang* and that "his sons are to this day rulers in the territory of Bang". Now Vaṅga or Baṅga is the specific name of *Eastern* Bengal and we possess epigraphic evidence of Lakṣmaṇasena's descendants having ruled for at least three generations (sic.) at Vikrampur near Sonārgāon in Dacca. Sanknāt may be a mistake for Sonārgāon or Songāon. A still nearer phonetic approach (sic.) would be Satgāon (sic. Sātgāon) and it is possible that Minhāj who knew little or nothing of Bengal geography has confused the two names. Hooghly district in which Satgāon (sic.) lay was under Hindu rule for long after the Muhammadan conquest of Lakhnautī' (*op. cit.*, 207). Unfortunately these suggestions about the location of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* are equally untenable, although Hodivala is right in his criticism of the Jagannāth theory. Minhājuddīn stayed at Lakhnautī for over two years in 1242–45 A.D. (cf. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 260) and could hardly have been as ignorant of the geography of Bengal as Hodivala takes him to have been. Sonārgāon was not a country and, since it was a city in Bang, it is certainly absurd to speak of one's flight towards Sonārgāon *and* Bang. The arguments against the identification of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt with Jagannāth or Pūri, offered by Hodivala himself, are equally applicable against its identification with Sātgāon which lay to the south of Nadīā unlike the Vikramapura region lying to its east.

The *History of Bengal*, recently published by the Dacca University, offers conflicting suggestions regarding the identification of Minhājuddīn's Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt. In Volume I of this work, R. C. Majumdar refers to Saṅkaṭagrāma, mentioned in Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita* as the territory of one of Rāmapāla's feudatories named Caṇḍārjuna, and observes, '*Ain-i-Akbarī* refers to *pargana* Sakot in *Sarkār* Sātgāon. The name *Sakot* resembles *Saṅkaṭa*......Saṅkaṭagrāma is probably the same as Saṅka-koṭa referred to in *Vallāla-carita* and Sankanāt referred to in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*' (*op. cit.*, p. 158). It will be seen that the identification of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt with a locality near Sātgāon is as untenable as its location at Sātgāon itself.

In Volume II of the above work, K. R. Qanungo says, 'The region to which Rāi Lakhmanīa fled from Nadiā is named in the *T.N.* as *Bang wa S-n-k-n-āt*. Bang means East Bengal and the second place-name is a copyist's error for Sil-hāṭ, i.e. Sylhet. The invariable practice of Persian writers is to designate a district by joining together two well-known places in it, which might be even 50 miles apart; e.g., Sultanpur-Nandurbar, Vani-Dindori, Trimbak-Nasik, Dholpur-Bari, Kora-Jahanabad, Kara-Manikpur' (*op. cit.*, p. 4). Of all the identifications of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* proposed by scholars and discussed above, Qanungo's suggestion appears to be the least objectionable, as Sylhet may be regarded as a district adjacent to Bang. But the statement that Bang and Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt have been mentioned jointly to indicate a district like Sultanpur-Nandurbar is clearly wrong. The passage 'to the country of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt and to the cities of Bang and Kāmrūp' quoted above from Elliot and Dowson's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* shows beyond doubt that Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt did not form an integral part of Bang. The other passage quoted from the same work, however, suggests that this territory lay adjacent to Bang, and the Sylhet district possibly suits this position. As regards the possibility of scribal errors in the transliteration of Sil-hāṭ (actually *Silhaṭ* from *Śrīhaṭṭa* or *Śrīhaṭa*) as Saknāt, Sankāt or Sanknāt in the Perso-Arabic script, we may cite many other instances of the type (cf. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, pp. 599ff., 698, etc.).*

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* Cf. '*Kanauj* and *futuh*, when spelt without diacritical points, assume the same form: a good illustration of the difficulty of reading accurately oriental names;—here two words of the same form have not a letter in common' (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

It should, however, be pointed out that Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet as the name of an important territory is not usually found in early records, while the district round Sylhet is mentioned in the Chittagong plate (eighth or ninth century A.D.) of king Kāntideva as the Harikela (sometimes called Harikeli or Harikelā) *maṇḍala* (province). Moreover, both Bang and Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt appear to have formed a part of the dominions of Lakṣmaṇasena while there is hardly any evidence in favour of the inclusion of Sylhet in the Sena kingdom. Viewed from this angle, the identification of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt with Sylhet does not appear to be entirely beyond doubt. On the other hand, there was another territory near Bang (Vaṅga), which was not only well-known in Indian literature between the fourth and the thirteenth century A.D. but also probably formed a part of Lakṣmaṇasena's kingdom. Its name again may be regarded as the origin of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt of the Preso-Arabic script with equal plausibility as Silhaṭ (Sylhet) if not with more justification. This is the country of Samataṭa which was the name of the Tippera-Noakhali region of South-East Bengal as late as the thirteenth century when the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* was composed. It has to be remembered that Samataṭa as a territory near Vaṅga was considerably more important than Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*circa* 340–76 A.D.) mentions the Samataṭa country while Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (sixth century A.D.) distinguishes it from Vaṅga. The country is mentioned in the seventh century in the accounts of the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing as well as in the Kailan plate of king Śrīdhāraṇa of the Rāta dynasty, who is described as the lord of Samataṭa. The same country is further mentioned in the Baghaura inscription of Mahīpāla I (*circa* 988–1038 A.D.) and in the Mehar plate (1234 A.D.) of Dāmodara. The Mehar plate mentions Samataṭa as a *maṇḍala* or province. The name Samataṭa disappeared from Indian geography after the thirteenth century A.D.

King Lakṣmaṇasena ruled from his headquarters at Vikramapura in the Dacca district in Vaṅga at least up to 1205-06 A.D. when Śrīdharadāsa compiled his *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. His two sons, Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena, ruled after him, the former at least for fourteen years and the latter at least for three years. Nothing genuine is known about the rule of any other descendant of Lakṣmaṇasena, although the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* speaks of their rule in Bang as late at least as 1242–45 A.D. when Minhājuddīn was staying at Lakhnautī. But about this time the erstwhile feudatories of the Senas in the Samataṭa or Tippera-Noakhali region asserted their independence. A king named Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla was ruling over the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the Tippera district in 1221 A.D. while another king named Dāmodara is known to have established his suzerainty in the Tippera-Noakhali-Chittagong region and to have been ruling from 1231 A.D. at least up to 1243 A.D. Dāmodara belonged to the Deva family and was preceded on the throne by his father Vāsudeva, grandfather Madhusūdana and great-grandfather Puruṣottama. It seems that the earlier members of this family acknowledged the supremacy of the Senas of Vikramapura. Some of Dāmodara's epithets as found in his inscriptions are clearly imitated from those of the later Senas, used in the grants of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena. This shows that even if the Senas were continuing their precarious existence at Vikramapura as late as the fifth decade of the thirteenth century (as indicated by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*) they were no better than subordinate allies of the Deva king. Dāmodara's son, Daśaratha, issued his charters from

Vikramapura which had been previously the capital of the Senas in Vaṅga. This points to the complete overthrow of the Senas. Daśaratha's title *Arirāja-danuja-mādhava* suggests that he is identical with Danuj Rāi, Rājā of Sonārgāon (old Vikramapura) near Dacca, who, according to Ziauddīn Baranī, entered into an agreement with Sulṭān Ghiyāsuddin Balban of Delhi about 1281 A.D. that he should guard against the escape of the rebellious Sulṭān Mughisuddīn Tughral Khān of Lakhnautī by water (*Hist. Beng.*, Vol. II, p. 65). Thus the Devas of Samataṭa were the successors of the Senas at Vikramapura in Vaṅga. But nothing is known about the rule of the Deva dynasty after Daśaratha.

Earlier expeditions of the Muslim rulers of Lakhnautī against the country of Bang do not appear to have been successful. But Sulṭān Tughril Khān, who began to rule in 1268 A.D., is doubtfully said to have built a fort at Loricol about 25 miles due south of Dacca and to have invaded the kingdom of Hill Tippera (*ibid.*, p. 59). In course of his Bengal campaign, Sulṭān Ghiyāsuddīn Balban claimed to have subdued Iqlim-i-Lakhnautī and 'Arsah-i-Bangāla while he advised his son Nāṣiruddīn Bughra Khān, whom he left as the governor of Muslim Bengal, to exert for the conquest of Diyār-i-Bangāla (*ibid.*, p. 67). It is probable that the dominions of Daśaratha-Danuj Rāi of Sonārgāon in Bang were included in this Dīyār-i-Bangāla.* When exactly the Deva dynasty of Sonārgāon was overthrown by the Muslims is not known. Jalāluddīn, a son of Sulṭān Shamsuddīn Firūz Shāh (1301–22 A.D.) is known to have issued coins from the Lakhnautī mint 'from the spoils of Bang' while a coin of Shamsuddīn Fīrūz Shāh issued from his mint at Sonārgāon itself bears the date 710 A.H. = 1310-11 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 80-81). Thus the Deva dynasty of Sonārgāon seems to have been extirpated by the Muhammadans shortly after the reign of Daśaratha.

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* About this time, the lower portion of South-West Bengal seems to have formed a part of the dominions of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, the Bhāgīrathī was claimed to have been the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Orissa. The upper part of that area, called Rāl (Rāḍha), formed one wing of the Muslim territory of Lakhnautī, its other wing being Barind (Varendra), according to Minhājuddīn.

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WANG HIUAN-TS'Ö'S INDIAN CAMPAIGN

By Sri R. C. Majumdar

The story of Wang Hiuan-ts'ö's [1] fight with an Indian ruler furnishes the only instance, recorded in history, of an armed conflict between China and India. This, as well as the strange character of the expedition, with almost incredible incidents happening from beginning to end, invests the whole episode with a unique importance. Known from very early days of Indological studies and popularized by V. A. Smith, the account has been tacitly accepted by all writers of Indian history.[2] I propose in this paper to subject it to a critical examination from the historical point of view. In the following narrative Wang Hiuan-ts'ö will be referred to as Wang.

Wang, who came to India four times on diplomatic mission,[3] had himself written a memoir of his travels in India. This book, named 'Account of journeys to Mid-India' (*Chung-Ti'en-chu hing Ki*), is lost, but extracts from it are preserved in a work entitled *Fa-iuen-chu-lin*, an encyclopaedia of Buddhism compiled by Tao-chen in 668 A.D.[4] Unfortunately, none of these extracts refers to his second embassy with which alone we are concerned here. The most authentic account of Wang's second embassy to Magadha or Mid-India is furnished by the *History of the T'ang Dynasty* in its two versions 'Old' and 'New'.[5] The account of Ma-Twan-Lin [6] and Pien-i-tien,[7] and that in *Che fu yuen koei* [8] are all presumably based on the later of the two T'ang histories.

As there are variations and discrepancies in detail between these two, we may reproduce the two accounts separately.[9]

The account of the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty* runs as follows:

'Before that (i.e. return of Hiuen Tsang), Wang Hiuan-ts'ö was sent on a mission to India. All the kings of four Indias sent tribute to the court (i.e. of China). The king who ruled over Mid-India, Chi-lo-i-to

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[1] The name is written as Wang Hiuen-ts'e by S. Lévi and Chavannes, Wang-hiuen-tse by V. A. Smith, and Wang Hiuan-ts'ö by Dr. Paul Pelliot and Dr. P. C. Bagchi.

[2] V. A. Smith—*Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., pp. 352-53; L. A. Waddell in *The Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1911, pp. 37ff.; P. C. Bagchi—*India and China* (pp. 82-3), *Sino-Indian Studies*, I. 69.

[3] Cf. Bagchi, *op. cit.*

[4] Lévi—*JA*, 1900, pp. 297ff. P. Pelliot—*T'oung Pao*, 1912, pp. 351ff.

[5] The two Histories of the T'ang Dynasty were composed respectively in A.D. 897–946 and 1060. The relevant extracts are translated in French by Lévi (*JA*, 1900, 306ff.) and in English by Waddell (*op. cit.*).

[6] The extract from Ma-Twan-Lin's Encyclopaedic work was translated by M. Pauthier first in English (*Asiatic Journal*, London, 1836) and then in French (*JA*, 1839, pp. 257–400). The English translation was reproduced in *JASB*, VI (1837), pp. 61–75. It was again translated in French by M. Stanislaus Julien (*JA*, 1847) and this version was translated into English by J. Burgess in *IA*, IX (1880), pp. 14–24.

[7] Pien-i-tien's account is referred to by Lévi (*op. cit.*, p. 305).

[8] This is an Encylopaedic work composed in A.D. 1013. Extracts from it have been translated by Chavannes—*Documents sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *Occidentaux: Notes Additionnelles* (with separate paging at the end). The relevant extract is on pp. 15-16.

[9] These are based on the French translation of Lévi. The differences between the two have been brought out by Waddell by translations in parallel columns. In these translations the words within brackets are additions to the original. The Chinese official title of Wang is omitted.

(i.e. Śīlāditya) had just died, and there was anarchy in the kingdom. His minister Na-fu-ti O-lo-na-shuen usurped the throne; he sent the barbarian forces to drive out Hiuan-ts'ö. The mission had only 30 horsemen as escort. They fought with the barbarians, but the two parties were unequal; the arrows having been exhausted (the Chinese soldiers) were made prisoners and the barbarians plundered the objects offered as tribute by the kingdoms. Hiuan-ts'ö alone escaped, thanks to the (darkness of the) night. He fled to T'u-fan (Tibet) which furnished him 1,200 picked soldiers, and Nepal sent 7,000 cavalry to serve as escort. Hiuan-ts'ö, with Tsiang Cheu-jenn, the second officer (of the embassy), advanced at the head of this force as far as the capital of Mid-India. The battle lasted for three days and the casualties were very heavy; 3,000 men were beheaded and about 10,000 were drowned. O-lo-na-shuen fled from the town, but Cheu-jenn pursued him and made him prisoner along with 12,000 persons, both men and women, and more than 30,000 cattle, oxen and horses. Then India trembled. Hiuan-ts'ö brought the (royal) prisoner with him to the capital (of China) in 648 A.D. and was promoted to a higher office'.

The account of the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty* runs as follows:

'In the year 648 A.D. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö was sent on a mission (to India) with Tsiang Cheu-jenn as his second (in command). Before their arrival Chi-lo-i-to (Śīlāditya) died and there was anarchy in the kingdom. The minister Na-fu-ti O-lo-na-shuen usurped the (royal) power. He sent his soldiers to drive out Hiuan-ts'ö. The mission had an escort of only a few dozen cavalry, who were defeated and all died. The objects offered as tribute by the kingdoms were plundered. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö fled to the western frontier, Tibet, and appealed to the neighbouring countries for military help. Tu-fan (Tibet) furnished 1,000 soldiers, and Nepal sent 7,000 cavalry. Hiuan-ts'ö divided his army in several corps and advanced as far as the town of Ch'a-puo-ho-lo. He captured it on the third day; 3,000 persons were beheaded and 10,000 were drowned. O-lo-na-shuen fled, reassembled his troops and again offered battle. Cheu-jenn made him prisoner and beheaded thousand persons at one and the same time. The remaining (followers), who were in charge of the harem of the king, opposed the passage of the river K'ien-t'o-wei. Cheu-jenn attacked them, and a great battle ensued. He captured the wives and sons of the king, 12,000 persons, and all sorts of domestic animals, numbering 30,000. He received the submission of 580 walled towns. The king of Eastern India, Chi-kieu-mo (Śrī-Kumāra), sent him as present 30,000 oxen and horses, provision for all his army, and also bows, scimitars, and collars of great value.[1] The kingdom of Kia-mu-lu (Kāmarūpa) presented to the emperor some curious articles and a map of the country, and asked for the gift of an image of Lao-tsu. Hiuan-ts'ö retained O-lo-na-shuen as his prisoner and presented him to the Emperor. The victory was proclaimed officially in the temples of the imperial ancestors and Hiuan-ts'ö was promoted.'

This account may be completed by a few details about the captive Indian king preserved in Chinese chronicles. He 'remained in China till his death and was given posthumous honours. His statue was set up by the side of the statues of king Srong-btsan Sgam-po and those of the kings of Kuchā, Turfan, etc. The statue was placed on the avenue leading to the tomb of Emperor T'ai-tsong'.[2]

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[1] This passage is based on the English translation in *IA*, IX, 20.

[2] Bagchi, *op. cit.*; Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Chavannes, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. 54, p. 28.

It is unnecessary to reproduce Ma-Twan-Lin's account as it agrees closely with that in the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*, with one important addition. It begins by saying that 'in A.D. 646 the Emperor sent Wang on an embassy to the kingdom of Magadha'.

It will be seen from the above extracts that our three principal authorities give three different dates for the departure from China of the second embassy of Wang. The *Old History* places it before the return of the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang to China in A.D. 645. The *New History* and Ma Twan Lin definitely place the event respectively in A.D. 648 and 646. The first date is obviously wrong as Wang did not return to China after his first embassy till 646 A.D.[1]

The *Old History* gives the date of Wang's return to China, after his second embassy, in A.D. 648,[2] and this date has been unanimously accepted by modern scholars. In view of this the date 648 A.D. for the commencement of his journey, as given in the *New History*, becomes highly improbable, nay almost an impossibility. For we have then to suppose that the journey from China to India and back, and the arduous campaign in India, involving several pitched battles and the surrender of 580 walled towns, were all accomplished in less than a year.

It appears from the Chinese accounts quoted above that Wang was involved in troubles immediately after his arrival in India. This seems to have been the view adopted by all the writers except Waddell,[3] who thinks that Wang 'had been many months in India, probably over a year, before the attack upon his returning escort'. He draws this inference from the statement in the *Old History* that 'all the kings of four Indias sent tribute to Chinese court'. 'It seems clear then', says he, 'that king Harsha's death occurred *towards the end* of Hiuan-ts'ö's mission, and after 'all the kings of the four Indias (had) sent tribute to the court', and that it was only when he was returning with this tribute he 'was attacked and plundered by the minister who had usurped the throne'.

This view is no doubt in accord with the earlier dates given for Wang's mission, but it is definitely opposed to the clear statement in the *New History* that Śīlāditya died before the arrival of Wang's mission. Besides, it seems highly incredible that Wang should have arrived in India during Harṣa's lifetime and yet made no reference to him. The so-called tributes are, of course, nothing but formal presents which might have reached Wang on his way to, or immediately after arrival in, India. It is not necessary to suppose that Wang must have spent some time in India to collect the tributes.

Ma-Twan-Lin's statement that Wang was sent on an embassy to the kingdom of Magadha is more specific than what we find in the T'ang Histories which simply refer to India. Both the T'ang Histories no doubt clearly imply that the mission was sent to Harṣa, and that his throne was usurped by his minister. In that case we should expect the latter to have ruled at Kanauj. But the usurping minister, as we shall see later, was most probably a local ruler of Tirhut in North Bihar and all the campaigns of Wang were confined to this region. The questions arise why Harṣa's dominions were referred to as kingdom of Magadha by Ma-Twan-Lin, and how the minister, who usurped Harṣa's throne, could be regarded as merely a local ruler of Tirhut; but we cannot answer them.

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[1] Bagchi gives the date of return as 647 A.D., and the same date for the second embassy of Wang (*op. cit.*), but he cites no authority. According to Pelliot, Wang returned to China after his first embassy either in 646 or 647 (*T'oung Pao*, 1912, p. 351).

[2] Pelliot quotes a passage from the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty* according to which Wang conquered Ti-na-fu-ti on June 16, 648. (*T'oung Pao*, 1912, pp. 352-3, f.n. 2). The occurrence of the name Ti-na-fu-ti in the *Old History*, not noticed by Lévi, strengthens the view of Chavannes, noted below, about the restoration of the name of the kingdom.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

Dr. Bagchi says that 'on his arrival at the capital of Harṣa, Wang Hiuan-ts'ö found that Harṣa had died and that his minister, A-la-na-shuen (Aruṇāśva ?), the king of Tīrabhukti, had usurped the throne'. This seems to imply that Wang had proceeded up to Kanauj and found there, on its throne, Harṣa's minister, who was at first merely a local ruler of Tirhut. Neither of these two suppositions seems to have any evidence to support it.

Before proceeding to examine the historical character of the incident it is necessary to discuss the personal and geographical names in the above account.

1. The name of the king is written as Na-fou-ti O-lo-na-choen by Lévi. He was at first inclined to take Na-fou-ti as equivalent to *Senāpati*, but later gave up the theory. He then suggested that, taken along with 'Po-lo-men ti' which precedes the name, it might mean either (1) the emperor of Brāhmaṇas, the emperor of Na-fou, the king O-lo-na-choen, or (2) the ruler of the kingdom of Ti-na-fou-ti (*bhukti* ?) of the Brāhmaṇas (of India) O-lo-na-choen.[1]

Chavannes observes as follows with reference to the Chinese text *Che fu yuen koei*:

'The usurper of the throne of Magadha is described here as the ruler of a kingdom called, in one place, Ti-na-fu, and in another, Na-fu-ti. The inscription, engraved on the statue of this royal prisoner, means 'the Hindu king of the kingdom of Ti-na-fu-ti, A-lo-na-choen. It thus appears that the name of the kingdom was in reality Ti-na-fu-ti which explains why it was written in this text both as Ti-na-fu and Na-fu-ti'.[2]

Following the clue given by Lévi in equating 'fu-ti' with *bhuktī*, Ti-na-fu-ti has been taken to be equivalent to Tīrabhukti. The name of the king, written as O-lo-na-choen by Lévi, A-lo-na-choen by Chavannes,[3] and A-la-na-shuen by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, has been taken to represent Aruṇāśva or Arjuna.[4]

2. The *New History* refers to a king of Eastern India. The name is written as Chi-kieou-mo by Lévi who transcribes it as Śrī Kumāra, and identifies him with Bhāskara-varman, king of Kāmarūpa. This view, which has been unanimously accepted, is based on the fact that, according to Hiuen Tsang, Bhāskara-varman had the title Kumāra (Keu-mo-lo), and is referred to as such both in the *Records* and the *Life*. But it is to be noted that the *New History*, after referring to the presents sent by Chi-kieou-mo, king of Eastern India, mentions, in the very next sentence, the presents sent by the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, and the two lists of presents are entirely different. This naturally leads to the presumption that two different kingdoms are meant. Besides, it is to be noted that the Chinese transcription of Kumāra, who is identical with Bhāskara-varman, is Keu-mo-lo, whereas the *New History* writes it as Chi-kieou-mo. It is for the Sinologues to judge whether the two names can be regarded as identical. But even if it be so, the distinct references to two kingdoms in two

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 300, f.n. 2. See f.n. 2, p. 39.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 16, f.n. 1. Chavannes notes that this Chinese text gives the name of the king as A-na-choen, in place of A-lo-na-chuen which is found in all other Chinese texts.

[3] *T'oung Pao*, 1912, pp. 352-3, f.n. 2.

[4] Cf. Waddell (*op. cit.*), Bagchi (*op. cit.*) and V. A. Smith (*op. cit.*).

successive sentences, with different lists of presents, certainly do not favour the presumption of their identity. Besides, we should remember that Kumāra was a fairly common name or title. According to Hiuen Tsang the great Harṣa-vardhana himself was called Kumāra.[1] Further, we learn from *Harṣa-carita*[2] that Kumāra-gupta was the name of a son of the king of Malwa who was brought up as a companion of Harṣa. Now, it has been mentioned in this work that Harṣa consecrated Kumāra to sovereignty.[3] This Kumāra, also, has been identified with Bhāskara-varman.[4] But this is highly improbable, as Bhāskara-varman ascended the throne as an independent king and concluded a treaty with Harṣa immediately after the latter had succeeded to the throne. It is more likely that Kumāra-gupta, who was consecrated to sovereignty, was no other than Kumāra-gupta, prince of Mālava. We know from epigraphic evidence that his younger brother Mādhavagupta, and the latter's descendants, ruled in Magadha. It may be held therefore that Kumāragupta was installed as a ruler of this region by Harṣa himself, and the succession passed on to his brother.[5] Kumāra, the ruler of Eastern India, as distinct from the king of Kāmarūpa, might refer to this Kumāragupta, and as he was a partisan of Harṣa, we might easily account for his readiness to help the Chinese who fought against the usurper of Harṣa's throne.

3. The name of the town captured by Wang is written as Ch'a-puo-ho-lo by Lévi who suggests Ḍavāka as the phonetical equivalent of Ch'a-puo, and 'pāla' as the equivalent of ho-lo. He also notes that in the general account of India, which precedes the account of Wang in the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*, Ch'a-puo-ho-lo is described as the capital of Mid-India and situated on the bank of the Kia-pi-li. Lévi suggested the identification of this river with the Kapili, a tributary of the Brahmaputra in Assam, but he added that Ma-Twan-Lin definitely identified the river with the Gaṅgā.[6]

It has been recently shown that there is a place still called Ḍoboka in the valley of the Kapili and the Jumna rivers in Nowgong district, in Assam, and its identification with Ḍavāka, mentioned along with Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra-gupta, is now generally accepted. The case for locating Ch'a-puo-ho-lo in Nowgong district is, therefore, much stronger now than when Lévi wrote. It may be mentioned here that the kingdom of Kia-pi-li in India which, according to the *History of the Song Dynasty*, sent two embassies to China in 428 and 466 A.D., has been identified with Ḍavāka on the assumption that the kingdom was so called after the river Kapili.[7]

4. The name of the river on whose bank Wang defeated the guards of the royal harem is written as K'ien-t'o-wei by Lévi, who takes it to represent Gandavatī or Gaṇḍavatī, and regards it as a possible form of the name Gaṇḍakī.

5. The *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty* does not name the capital city but merely says that it was about 70 *li* (= 12 miles) in circuit and

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[1] Beal's Tr. I. 213.

[2] Cowell's Tr. p. 119.

[3] P. 91 (Nirnayasāgar Edition). The English translators (p. 76) have misunderstood the passage *atra devenābhiṣiktaḥ Kumāraḥ*.

[4] R. K. Mookerjee—*Harsha*, p. 44.

[5] The absence of Kumāra-gupta's name in the genealogical list of kings given in Aphsad Inscriptions is no evidence against this theory, as many other royal genealogies, recorded in inscriptions, omit the names of collateral rulers, and only trace the direct genealogy of the ruling king.

[6] Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 306, f.n. 2.

[7] Cf. Barua—*Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 42. *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, I. 14-15, 124; V. 14-57.

close to the river Chen-lien. Lévi suggests that Chen-lien is very probably the Gaṇḍakī.[1] Waddell has sought to prove that the capital city is the same as the capital of Vṛiji, Chan-shu-na, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.[2]

We are now in a position to subject the whole account of Wang's expedition to a critical examination.

All the modern writers on the subject—Lévi, V. A. Smith, Waddell, and Bagchi—have taken it for granted that Wang's adversary was a minister of Harṣa who had usurped the throne after his master's death. Once we assume this, the whole story becomes a succession of marvels and improbabilities such as are rarely to be found even in a romantic story, not to speak of sober history. An ambassador from distant China arrives with an escort of 30 horsemen to the capital of a great and friendly king; his successor forgets not only the hospitality due to an envoy of a friendly king, but even the common usage of the inviolability attaching to an ambassador, and suddenly attacks him; while no reasons are even alleged for this strange conduct on his part. Then the 30 men fight to the last against the royal army—an absolutely useless bravado. The ambassador somehow escapes during the night, either alone or with his second-in-command. Having the good fortune to escape from an ugly position, he does not take advantage of it *to return home*, but determines to take revenge on the Indian king who succeeded to the domains of Harṣa. He goes as far as Tibet and Nepal, not a very easy journey either then or now, and returns with 8,200 soldiers. With this tiny force he works veritable marvels. Although out of his 8,200 men no less than 7,000 were cavalry, and he had evidently no siege-materials, he besieged the capital city of Harṣa (or Mid-India) and reduced it within three days! He then defeated the king in open battle and took him captive. Even with his reduced number, without any fresh recruit, and still mainly relying on his Nepalese cavalry, he had no difficulty in crossing a river after routing the Indian troops who opposed his passage, and not only took the wives and sons of the king but also 12,000 persons as prisoners—a number nearly double his own army. But yet greater marvels were to follow! Five hundred and eighty walled towns, by no means an insignificant number, submitted to him, and kings of Eastern India sent rich provisions, evidently for fear of his might. With all these great achievements redounding to his credit Wang returned to China in triumph with the Indian king, the successor of Harṣa, as his prisoner. The greatest marvel was that all these fights and victories, including a return journey to Tibet, were accomplished in less than a year, according to the *History of the T'ang Dynasty*; for, according to this authority, he was sent on his mission in 648 A.D. and we know that he returned to China during the same year. The marvels continue even in China. For the very king of India, who behaved so badly with Wang and was taken prisoner to China, received high posthumous honours,[3] and his statue was placed in a public place along with that of such a renowned king as Srong-btsan Sgampo.

It is not a little curious that the incongruity and the extreme improbability of the episode have not been stressed by the writers who have dealt with it.[1] Lévi, V. A. Smith, Waddell and Bagchi, for example, have narrated the incidents as historical facts without any comment. Nevertheless the absurdity of the account, *as it stands*, stares us in the face, and the suspicion is naturally heightened by the fact that evidently the only source of information for this strange episode was Wang himself, whose account must have been drawn upon by later writers and official chroniclers.

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[1] Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 306, f.n. 2; p. 324, f.n. 1.

[2] Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 53ff. For Hiuen Tsang's account, see Watters, II. 81.

[3] This is the general view; cf. Lévi (*op.cit.*, p. 301); Bagchi (*op. cit.*); Bushell (*JRAS*, N.S. XII, p. 528, note 16). Waddell says about the king that 'he appears to have been treated with honour, and even possibly, I think, reinstated in India' (*op. cit.*, p. 63). Pelliot, however, argues that the erection of the statue did not signify any honour, but was due to a religious custom which sought to represent the dead emperor as attended by those whom he had subdued or defeated. It was a sort of posthumous triumph for the Chinese emperor (*T'oung Pao*, 1912, pp. 352-3, f.n. 2).

But we must not run to the other extreme. For it is as difficult to take seriously the pretensions or alleged victories of Wang as to hold that the whole thing was a figment of his imagination. In any case, the presence of the Indian king as a captive in China cannot but be regarded as a fact. We are therefore compelled to think of a reconstruction of the strange episode which will give a reasonable explanation, at least of the principal incidents.

Two important considerations have suggested to me the theory propounded below. The first is the fact, resting on the statement of Lévi,[2] that the Tibetan king Srong-btsan Sgampo conquered Assam and Nepal and claimed to exercise suzerainty over half of Jambudvīpa. From what we know of the history of Magadha and Kāmarūpa during the first half of the seventh century A.D., it is not likely that the Tibetan king could do this before the death of Harṣa. As Srong-btsan Sgampo's reign is placed between 600 and 650 A.D., the probability is that his Indian expedition took place immediately after the death of Harṣa. The anarchy and confusion that followed, as described in the Chinese account, might as well be the effect as the cause of this invasion. In any case, if we assume that Wang arrived in India, about the same time as, i.e. immediately before or after, the Tibetan invasion, we get a reasonable explanation of the maltreatment which he received at the hands of the Indian ruler. For we may easily presume that, rightly or wrongly, he was suspected to be allied to the Tibetan invaders, and this suspicion could well be based on the known alliance between Tibet, Nepal and China.

Secondly, the statement in the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty*, that Wang's first fight was with the barbarians, perhaps enables us to go a little further. Wang had previously spent several years in India, and it is hardly likely that he would describe the soldiers of the kingdom of Magadha as barbarians. It is probable that he was attacked by some hill-tribes on his way to Magadha, and believed, rightly or wrongly, that the Indian king had deliberately set the barbarian troops against him. Lévi's suggestion that the scene of this conflict might be in the kingdom of Ḍavāka, in Nowgong district, Assam, would support this view.

Being ill-treated by the Indian ruler or the hill-tribes, Wang naturally thought of securing his safety, and if the Tibetan king was near at hand, he would naturally have turned to him for aid. What has been described as his journey to Tibet and Nepal to secure help probably means only this, that he sought the protection of the Tibetan king who was already in India or its border, and received his help. The military achievements of Wang, which followed, should then be regarded as merely a part of the Indian campaign of the Tibetan king. Wang might have actually been placed at the head of a contingent, consisting of 1,200 Tibetans and 7,000 Nepalis, but his resounding victories can only be viewed as a part of the general Tibetan campaign. In submitting his report to the Chinese emperor he naturally exaggerated his personal valour and carefully suppressed the fact that he played only a subordinate part in a big campaign. He represented every victory as his own, whether he fought it as an independent unit, or, as more often was the case, as a part of the Tibetan army. A careful manipulation of the account of the proceedings in which he was engaged, could easily have enabled him to shine in the reflected glory of the Tibetan campaign, at least in the eyes of the Chinese emperor and his court who could have little direct knowledge of the actual course of events in India. As Srong-btsan Sgampo retired from India and died shortly after, without leaving any permanent trace of his rule in India, the true character of Wang's vaunted glories in his isolated achievements was in no great risk of being detected by the Chinese.[1]

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[1] The writer of the present article was probably the first to notice it (*History of Bengal*, I. 92).

[2] *Le Nepal*, II. 148.

As noted above, Wang did not stay long in India and returned before the end of 648 A.D. Probably he came to learn later that the Indian ruler whom he took prisoner to China, had no hand in the barbarians' attack against him. Or it may be that the Indian ruler could convince the Chinese court of his innocence in the matter. That would explain why the posthumous honours were bestowed upon this much wronged man.[2]

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that the military campaigns which Wang undertook, either on his own account, or as a collaborator in the Tibetan campaign, were confined to a very narrow region, along the foothills of the Himālayas and extending to the plains of N. Bihar.[3] At least there is no positive indication that Wang had penetrated further into India. As such it is difficult to believe that his opponent had usurped the throne of Harṣa, at least in the ordinary sense of the term. The principal seat of Harṣa's power, and the centre of his empire, lay further to the west, in the region of Kanauj and Thaneswar. But it does not appear from the account of Wang that he or his rival A-la-no-shuen had anything to do with this region. It is, therefore, more likely that the latter was a local ruler (or governor) who had declared his independence after the death of Harṣa. He could, therefore, be described as a usurper of Harṣa's throne only in a very qualified sense.

On the whole, we cannot regard the expedition of Wang in any other light than as a passing episode concerning a small region in the north-eastern fringe of India, and whether we view it as an independent campaign or a part of Tibetan expedition, it cannot be said to have affected the course of Indian history. The Tibetan king Srong-btsan Sgampo might have overrun a considerable stretch of territory, but left no impress on the country, and returned home without securing any permanent gain. His claim to have conquered Kāmarūpa and half of Jambudvīpa probably rests on no better ground than his temporary military success in N. Bihar and the presents sent by kingdoms in Eastern India which, like the Chinese, he regarded as tribute. For Wang himself refers to the tributes paid to the Chinese emperor which were plundered by the Indian ruler (or the barbarian troops in India).

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[1] This theory is supported by a passage in the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty* which, almost immediately after a reference to Wang's conquest of Ti-na-fu-ti, adds: 'The Tibetans, having attacked and defeated the kingdom of Mid-India, sent an ambassador for announcing the victory' (*T'oung Pao*, 1912, pp. 352-3, f.n. 2). Waddell (*op. cit.*, pp. 43ff.) also construes Wang's campaign as that of the Tibetans, because the contingent was supplied by Tibet and its vassal state Nepal, and the campaign is referred to as Tibet's war in the 'Notices on Tibet' in T'ang History. But this is only a verbal difference and in any case his view is entirely different from the theory put forward above.

[2] But see f.n. 3, p. 42.

[3] This point has been fully discussed by Waddell (*op. cit.*, pp. 49ff).

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A MASTERPIECE OF MEDIAEVAL KASHMĪRĪ METAL ART: KING ŚAṀKARAVARMAN'S FRAME FOR AN IMAGE OF BUDDHA AVATĀRA (BEGINNING OF THE TENTH CENTURY A.D.) IN THE SRINAGAR MUSEUM

By H. Goetz

(Paper received on 29th August, 1952)

Mediaeval South Indian bronzes are found in great quantities and excellent quality and have become rather fashionable with museums and collectors in the last years. From Bengal, Bihār and Nepāl we know beautiful bronzes the best of which have been executed for Buddhist monasteries in the time of the Pāla dynasty.[1] Also in Central India and Gujarāt a number of excellent bronzes, mainly of Jain Tīrthankars and Yakshīs, have been discovered.[2] Only from North-Western India very little has so far come to the light.

Conditions there had been not very favourable. Though after the Scythian invasions the Kushān Empire had brought forth an extensive eclectic art, it was first temporarily paralyzed by the Sāsānian conquest and at last destroyed by the Hūna-Gūrjara and Turkish invasions. No strong political power developed thereafter to the west of the Pratihāra and, later, Cāhamāna, sphere of political influence. Kashmīr rose to supremacy in the 8th century under Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (*c.* middle 8th century A.D.), but was soon reduced to the natural frontiers of its valley, and since the 10th century torn by misgovernment and civil strife which not only led to a rapid decline of its art, but also to the destruction of already existing monuments.[3] The Śāhis of Kābul had to concentrate all their energies on the defence against the advance of the Islāmic power and seem never to have been of importance in the cultural field.[4] Of the minor states in the Panjāb we know very little. And only some of the small Himālayan kingdoms, Chambā,[1] Balor-Babbor,[2] Kāngrā-Trigarta,[3] Kulū[4] and Kumāon[5] have left us monuments of a modest, but not unimportant artistic activity. But this, too, was smashed at first by the raids of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, and then by the Muslim conquest and its aftermath of social and political chaos.[6]

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[1] K. P. Jayaswal and S. Kramrisch, Metal Images of Kurkihār Monastery, (*J.I.S.O.A.*, II, pp. 70ff., 1934); C. C. Das Gupta, (in *Proc. 10th Indian History Congress*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 245ff.); *A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1917-18; 1930-34, (pls. 147ff.); etc.

[2] Prayag Dayal, A Brass Image of Chāmundā, (*J.U.P. Hist. Soc.*, V, pp. 90ff., 1932); A. Banerji, Three Metal Images of Sārnāth Museum, (*Bhārat Kaumudī*, I, p. 55, 1945); Bimal Kumar Datta, A Metal Image of Hāritī, (*J.I.S.O.A.*, X, pp. 207ff.; 1942); U. P. Shah, Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambikā (*J. Bombay Univ.*, IX, 2, 1940); H. D. Sankalia, Jaina Iconography, (*New Ind. Antiq.*, II, pp. 497ff., 1939-40); Hirānanda Shastri, Some Recently Added Sculptures in the Provincial Museum Lucknow, Calcutta, 1922; H. D. Sankalia, The So-called Buddhist Images from Baroda State, (*Bull. Deccan College Res. Institute*, I, pp. 185ff., 1940); Catalogue of the Exhibition of Indian Art, Government House, New Delhi, 1948-49 (No. 316: Tārā from Sirpur); B. L. Mankad, Mātrikā and Related Images in the Baroda Museum (*Baroda Mus. Bull.*, VII, pp. 39ff., 1951, fig. 1). Further, the excellent Jain group from Jaipur, in the Sarabhai Nawab Collection at Ahmedabad.

[3] Looting of temples and persecutions of priests and brāhmins for the purpose of filling the royal treasure chests were perpetrated by the kings Jayāpīḍa, Vajrāditya, Śaṁkaravarman and Harsha, and for religious reasons by Sultān Sikandar Būtshikān. Temple and town of Vijayeśvara (Bijbehara) were burnt down in the civil war between Ananta and Kalaśa, the Rājvihāra at Parihāsapura in that between Uccala and Sussala, the sun temple of Mārtāṇḍ was used as a fortress by Jayasimha in the 12th century, not to mention many minor cases.

[4] Madho Sarup Vats, The Salt Range, (*A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1927-28, pp. 89ff.); *A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1914-15, 1920-21, 1921-22, 1923-24; W. S. Talbot, An Ancient Hindu Temple in the Panjab (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 335ff.); possibly also Pattan Munara (*A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1926-27, pp. 108ff.).

The Gandhāra tradition survived the Hūna invasions for some time.[7] A curious Sūrya bronze of Kidāra-Kushān or even later times, in the collection of Professor Svetoslav Roerich, reminds us in one respect of the classic figures of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, but its costume and technique reveal likewise links with the art of Kashmīr as late as the 10th century.[8] The brass statuette of the Buddha discovered at Fathpur in the Kāngrā district,[9] also represents a 6th century echo of the Gandhāra style, but already under the influence of later Gupta art. This late Gupta influence can be traced all along the Western Himālaya, in the gilt bronze statues of 'Paun Rājās'[10]—in reality probably images of Lokeśvara—still in the temples of Katārmal and Jageśvar in Kumāon, the stone sculptures of Lakha-Mandal,[11] the sculptures of the Thākurdvāra of Masrūr[12] near Baijnāth (Kāngrā District), the woodcarvings and the brass images of Meruvarman at Brahmor in upper Chambā[13] and finally the stone sculptures excavated at Pandrethān and Vijabror (the Vijayeśvara of the Rājataranginī, Bijbehara) in Kashmir[14] and a fine bronze group of Padmapāni in the

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[1] J. Ph. Vogel, Antiquities of Chambā State, I, Calcutta 1911.

[2] R. Ch. Kak, Antiquities of Basohlī and Rāmnagar (*Ind. Art and Letters*, VII, pp. 65ff., 1933).

[3] J. Ph. Vogel, Ancient Monuments of Kāngrā ruined in the Earthquake (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1905-06, pp. 10ff.); Kāngrā District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1906.

[4] J. Ph. Vogel, The Temple of Mahādeva at Bajaurā, Kulū, (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1909-10, pp. 18ff.); A. H. Longhurst, The Influence of the Umbrella on Indian Architecture, (*J. Ind. Art and Industry*, XVI, 1914); H. L. H. Shuttleworth, Inscribed Mask discovered at Nirmaṇd, (*Acta, Or.*, I, pp. 224ff., 1929); Hirānanda Sastri, Historical Monuments of Kulū (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1907-08, pp. 260ff.).

[5] Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for 1913-14, pp. 13ff.; D. R. Sahni, Temples in Almora District, (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1921-22, pp. 50ff.); E. T. Atkinson, The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, II-III, Allahabad, 1884–86.

[6] H. Goetz, The Coming of Muslim Cultural Influence in the Panjāb Himalaya, (*India Anitqua: J. Ph. Vogel Volume*, Leyden, 1947, pp. 157ff., es. 159).

[7] A. Stein, Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol, (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1911-12, pp. 95ff.). Also part of the Buddhist terracottas from Ushkur (cp. R. C. Kak, *Handbook Srinagar Museum*, 1923, pp. 11ff.) must be as late as the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. For a Gandhāra bronze Buddha in Kashmīr, see Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[8] It resembles very much a stone sculpture (late 8th century A.D.) at Jagat Sukh, Kulū. Some of its costume features recur in the 10th century statues of the Mātṛikas, Rāma, Brahmā, etc. from Pandrethān in the Srinagar Museum; in other respects there is some relationship of type with the Krishna figure of the Devasar frame.

[9] J. Ph. Vogel, Inscribed Brass Statuette from Fathpur (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1904-05, pp. 107ff.).

[10] See foot-note 5. The attribution to the local 'Paun rājās' is no more than a modern tradition. Iconographically the almost life-size figures of copper or octalloy, originally gilt, and with silver-plated eyes, offer some difficulties, but, as their style points to the 7th century, their interpretation as Lokeśvara is the most plausible one.

[11] Daya Ram Sahni, Lakha Mandal (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1923-24, pp. 57ff.); M. S. Vats and V. S. Agrawala, A Note on Sculptures at Lakhamandal (*J.U.P. Hist. Soc.*, XVII, pp. 87ff., 1944).

[12] H. Hargreaves, The Monolithic Temples of Masrūr (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1915-16, pp. 39ff.); H. L. Shuttleworth, in *Ind. Antiq.*, 44, pp. 19ff., 1915.

[13] J. Ph. Vogel, Antiquities of Chambā State, I, Calcutta, 1911; the same, Inscriptions of Chambā State (*A.R., A.S.I.*, 1902-03, pp. 239ff.).

[14] R. C. Kak, Handbook to the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Śrī Pratāp-Singh Museum Srinagar, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 27ff., 58ff.

Srinagar Museum.[1] Thereafter a strong Kashmīrī style developed from a syncretism inaugurated by the great conqueror Lalitāditya, comprising late Gandhāra, Sāsānian, Byzantine, late Gupta and early Pratihāra elements soon fusing into a new individuality.[2] This style spread also towards the East, and its influence is felt in many places, in the sculptures of Babbor,[3] Mirkulā-Udaipur, Triloknāth and Maylang in Lāhul, Chambā Town (Gaurī-Śaṅkar Temple) and Manāli and Naggar in Kulū. But on the other hand we can trace a countercurrent coming from Bengal, apparently inaugurated by the conquests and diplomatic relations of king Dharmapāla (*c.* A.D. 770–813). Bronzes in the Pāla style have been found in considerable number in Kulū, others are preserved in the Śakti Devī Temple of Chatrārhi in Chambā, and a fine Maitreya idol, very similar to the Nālandā and Kurkihār finds, is in the Śrī Pratāp Singh Museum at Srinagar.[4] However, this latter piece seems to have been a rather isolated import, and its sensitive sweetness stands in a glaring contrast to the fierce, sometimes even brutal strength of contemporaneous Kashmīrī sculpture.

Except for the two already mentioned pieces, nothing had hitherto been known of Kashmīrī metal art. However, in 1931 an extraordinary masterpiece was accidentally discovered in the garden of some unrecorded villager of the Divsar (Devasara, ancient Devasarasa) district, south-west of Anantnāg-Islāmābād. It is the frame of a Vishnu image, 6½ feet high and weighing 4½ maunds (360 lbs.), cast à jour—in one piece—in brass and completely covered with figural scenes. It is in a very good condition, only one scene having been broken out, whereas another has been replaced, perhaps in the 12th century, in a very clumsy manner.

This image frame (Plate I) is remarkable in many respects. Its very form already is exceptional. Whereas most Mediaeval Hindu images in Northern India are enclosed by a frame consisting of a makara-kīrtimukha arch supported on two columns, ours has a parabolic outline such as has been most common in Buddhist art, though in Bengal and, occasionally, also in the Deccan it had been taken over also for Hindu idols. This parabolic outline is fringed with small flames such as were common in late Gupta, Pāla, Tibetan and Far-Eastern Buddhist art.[5] Likewise provides its plain, trifoliated centre for an image in yoga position, likewise common in Buddhist, Śaiva and Jain iconography, but very rare in that of the Vaishṇava faith. And in fact, the idol enshrined must have been the Buddha, as is obvious from the central figure of the frame. But it is not the divine teacher of the Buddhists, it is his disguise as the ninth avatāra of Vishnu whose celestial aspect, surrounded by cāmara-swinging attendants, adoring ṛishis and the earth goddess, appears on top of Buddha avatāra, crowning the whole iconographic scheme of the frame. However, as idols of the Buddha avatāra are extremely rare, and as the general type both of the Buddha image and of its frame stem from the genuine

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[1] R. C. Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Cp. also O. C. Gangoly, An Early Bronze Figure in the Peshawar Museum (*Rūpām*, No. 32, Oct., 1927, pp. 143f.) which likewise must be dated into c. the 7th century A.D.).

[2] H. Goetz, The Beginnings of Mediaeval Art in Kashmīr (*J. Univ. Bombay*, N.S., XVII, pt. 2, pp. 63ff., 1952).

[3] R. C. Kak, Antiquities of Basohlī and Rāmnagar (*Ind. Art and Letters*, VII, pp. 65ff., 1933).

[4] R. C. Kak, Handbook Srinagar Museum, 1923, p. 72; for a Pāla stone sculpture there, see p. 38.

[5] S. Tucci, Tibetan Painted, Scrolls, Rome, 1949, I, fig. 50; P. H. Pott, Introduction to the Tibetan Collection in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 1951, pl. V (also IV and VI).

Buddhist tradition, it seems most probable that this image or at least its frame had been set up in connection with the absorption of Buddhism into the Hindu syncretism, a process which had been going on in Kashmīr not less than in other parts of Mediaeval India. For as the Buddha figure represented in the centre of the frame had probably been copied from the idol for which the frame had been intended, it appears that this latter had not been contemporaneous with it. Its style is very different from the other figures, not only in its spirit, but also in its modelling, and resembles rather the Buddha statues which in the 8th century Caṅkuṇa, the Buddhist minister of the great Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa had set up around his gigantic stūpa at Parihāsapura.[1] Thus it would appear that our frame had been placed behind a genuine Buddha image at least two centuries older, in order to transform it into a Vaishnava idol.

As already observed, all the other figures of our frame are emphatically Vaishnava, though again with deviations characteristic of Kashmīr, or, to be more correct, characteristic of a phase of Vaishnavism known also in other parts of India at that time, but in Kashmīr rather fixed in consequence of the later isolation of this kingdom from the rest of Hindu India. In this stage the old Pāñcarātra Bhagavatism had been almost overcome and replaced by the later system of the ten avatāras. But although Rāma and Kṛishna Govinda were already included, devotion was paid chiefly to Varāha, Nṛisimha and Trivikrama (Vāmana), the boar, lion and dwarf-giant avatāras of Vishnu, and to a celestial form of Vishnu as Lord of Vaikuṇṭha, with three, respectively seven heads, human, boar and lion. The history of these aspects is still little explored. The lion and Trivikrama avatāras had been much in favour also with the Pallavas of Kāñcī, the Cālukyas of Bādāmī and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The boar avatāra, though apocryphically traced back to the Upanishads, probably must be connected mainly with the Hūnas and Gūrjaras, and though known before, may possibly have come into fashion as a substitute for some foreign tribal cult[2]. This fashion coincided with that of Sūrya, likewise an adaptation of the foreign Mithra of the Māgas, and receded to the background at the same time, i.e. the period of decline of the Pratihāra dynasty.

The three-headed (actually four-headed, the fourth head being that of a demon) aspect of Vishnu can be traced from Kashmīr over Balor, Chambā and Kulū to Uttara Pradesh (United Provinces) and even Gujarāt.[3] It represents Vishnu in its most popular Pāñcarātra form, Vaikuṇṭha Chaturmukhi (= Para-Vāsudeva), always connected by tradition with Kashmīr, the 'Snow Country' (Śvetadvīpa). The iconographic evidence confirms that Kashmīr had been the chief centre of this cult. When it developed there, is not yet ascertained. For the four oldest Vaishnava temples, Lalitāditya's Parihāsakeśava, Muktakeśava, Mahā-Varāha and Govardhana at Parihāsapura, have been utterly destroyed.[1] However, the Avantisvāmin Temple at Avantipur had been dedicated to this form of Vishnu.[2] And later images can be traced up to the fall of Hinduism in Kashmīr. The three-headed Vishnu images of our brass frame belong to the same type, and are but a slightly later variety of the images excavated in the subsidiary chapels at Avantipur.[3] That on top of the whole frame, however, represents a further development of the type. It has seven heads arranged in three storeys, i.e. first the triad of lion, human face and boar, next three lion heads, and finally, on top, an elephant head. The eight arms hold a lotus, a sword, a sacrificial laddle, a disk, again a disk, a book, a club and a conch. This means that the image combines the emblems of Vishnu with those of Brahmā and Gaṇeśa (who curiously often enough stands for Śaivism[4]), thus expressing the attributes of the Lord of the Universe, Para-Vāsudeva or Vaikuṇṭhanātha. Probably the principal image of the Avantisvāmī Temple had been of the same type though it has, of course, disappeared.[5]

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[1] R. C. Kak, Handbook Srinagar Museum, 1923, p. 42. For Parihāsapura cp. R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 146ff.; A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājataranginī*, Westminster, 1900, II, pp. 300ff.

[2] The earliest actual references and representations of Varāha belong to the Gupta period, esp. the Temple of Erān and the great relief at Udaipur near Bhīlsa; The Huṅ leader Toramāna was a devotee of Varāha. But most statues are of the Pratihāra period, especially those of a genuine animal type; king Mihira-Bhoja of Kanauj bore also the title Ādi-Varāha and set the boar symbol on his coins. The nucleus of the Varāha-Purāṇa is placed by R. C. Hazra (Studies in the Puranic Records, 1940, pp. 94ff.) into the 8th century. In Kashmīr the oldest genuinely known Varāha temples were erected by Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (8th century); in Southern India the cult flourished under the Pallavas, Cālukyas of Bādāmī and Rāshtrakūtas. Under the earliest Śāhis of Afghānistān the boar symbol can be traced in what seems to be a Zoroastrian interpretation (cp. B. Rowland jr., in *Bull. Iranian Institute*, VI, pp. 35ff., 1946). Since the 10th century Varāha images have become very rare. The parallel appearance of the boar type in Vaishnavism, Tāntric Buddhism and Zoroastrianism makes it probable that all these deities represented attempts at absorbing some foreign barbarian solar god, connected with the Huns or Gūrjaras. Boarheaded gods had been known in Siberia.

[3] Jitendra Nath Banerji, Mediaeval Vishnu Images from Kashmīr and some Vishnudharmottara Passages (*Proc. 4th Ind. History Congress*, Lahore, 1940, pp. 61ff.); M. M. Nagar, A New Type of Vishnu from Aligarh (*Proc. 6th Ind. Hist. Congress*,

The two sides of the frame are reserved for the other avatāras of Vishnu. The lowermost figure, however, on both sides, represents a Nāga rising from the water. As is well known, these water dragons were favourite deities in Kashmīr and the Himālaya,[6] where they are still venerated in many places as the godlings of sources and lakes. But, on the other hand, they may here likewise be an echo of the Buddhist tradition. For especially in Mahāyāna Buddhist art Nāgas were always represented

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Aligarh, 1943, p. 89; D. R. Sahni, Excavations at Avantipur, (*A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 45); Philadelphia, *Museum Journal*, March, 1926; *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, XVII, No. 104; R. C. Kak, Antiquities of Basohli, p. 75; Burgess, Ancient Monuments of India, 1897, pl. 22; *A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, p. 218, J. Ph. Vogel, Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Lahore, 1909, A.9; V. S. Agrawala, Brahmanical Images in Mathurā (*J.I.S.O.A.*, V, 1937, p. 125); Prince of Wales Museum N.S. 219 (Solanki, 11th-12th century); Ramchandra Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, p. 133; S. C. Ray, A Note on an unpublished Viṣṇu Image from Kāśmīra (*J. As. Soc.*, XVII, *Letters*, No. 3, p. 251, 1951.)

[1] It is remarkable that at Parihāsapura the Hindu temples have been much more thoroughly destroyed than the Buddhist ones. For in those centuries the Buddhist sanctuaries, as those of the minority community, were more often looted, than the Hindu sanctuaries. But this seems also to have been their good luck. Impoverished shrines did not attract so much attention. And king Harsha (see *Rājataranginī*, VII, 1081ff.) whose destruction mania assumed pathological forms, was indulgent in the case of Parihāsapura. Śaṁkaravarman, transferring the capital, was naturally interested to shift also the official cult and thus to reduce first of all the splendour of the official temples of the old residence. Sikandar Būtshikān, on the other hand, had so much demolition work on his hands that the individual damage, though bad enough, was never thorough.

[2] R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, p. 119ff.; Daya Ram Sahni, Excavations at Avantipur (*A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 40ff.); the same, Pre-Muhammedan Monuments of Kashmir (*A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1915-16).

[3] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p. 47ff.; esp. pp. 48, 50.

[4] E.g. also in Nepālese Buddhist art, cp. B. Bhattacharyya, Two Metal Images of Hindu-Buddhist Composition from the Baroda Museum (*Bull. Baroda Museum*, II, pt. 2, p. 39ff., 1945-46).

[5] But at Verināg a stone fragment has been found, now in the Srinagar Museum, in which, however, the uppermost head is likewise that of a lion.

[6] J. Ph. Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore, London, 1928; the same, Serpent Worship in Ancient and Modern India (*Acta Or.*, II, 1923-24, Nos. 3-4).

supporting the stalk of the lotus on which the Buddha was sitting or standing,[1] and also in our frame they support the long lotus stalks in the volutes of which the avatāras of Vishnu are enthroned on lotus flowers. Amongst these avatāras the fish and turtle incarnations prove to be absent; instead, the Keśava and Mādhava mūrtis of the 24 Pāñcarātra forms [2] have been preserved, whereas Varāha is repeated three times.

The first (on the left, near the bottom) is Vishnu as Nārāyaṇa, i.e. the 'Olden of Days', resting on the snake Ananta (Eternity), with a lotus growing from his navel, on which the creator Brahmā is sitting. Next there follows Varāha avatāra, with eight arms carrying the combined symbols of Vishnu and Brahmā (Yajña-Varāha). The third is Trivikrama, Vishnu assuming the form of a giant in order to take possession of the universe, after he had from the demon king Bali obtained the promise to have as much as he could cover with three steps. In the next group Vishnu appears, teaching in kingly pose (Vīrāsana) in his form of Keśava-Mūrti, adored by a priest, in the following as Mādhava, adored by a queen. Then the boar incarnation comes again, now as Bhū-Varāha or Ādivarāha, standing on Ādiśesha (= Ananta, Eternity), raising the earth from the chaos[3] (Plate II *a*). The centre, as already mentioned, is occupied by the Buddha avatāra, sitting on a lotus, and adored by the king whereas to his right and left the sun and moon gods[4] are sitting. On the right there follows (from top to bottom) again Varāha, now attacking the demon king Hiraṇyāksha, then Nṛisimha (the Man-Lion) killing Hiraṇyakaśipu.[5] The next, missing, figure must have been Paraśurāma. The following one occupies the place of Rāma, though the latter's emblems and pose are absent, except in case the sitting posture be interpreted as an expression of Rāma's kingship; but the figure, a later replacement, may quite as well have been taken at random from some other piece. The one but last avatāra must be Kṛishna, a fat boy such as he appears in South Indian iconography,[6] adored by a priest and a queen. The last, again four-armed, resembles Trivikrama, though trampling on a horrified dwarfish figure; it must be intended as Kalki, the saviour expected at the end of the Kali Age, as is evident from a small horse standing beneath his feet (Plate II *b*, *c*). Finally, above the shoulders of the now missing idol, for which the frame had been prepared, two small figures are shown sitting, with one hand pointing towards the idol, in the other holding a yak-tail whisk.

From a purely art-historical point of view the frame is not less interesting. Its typology occupies a curiously intermediate position. On the one hand it links up with that of the Vajrayāna-Buddhist icons. Buddha-Avatāra, though in the posture of Buddha Śākyamuni, wears, however, the ascetic hair style of Lokeśvara.[1] Mādhava and Keśava remind us of Avalokiteśvara. Trivikrama, Ādivarāha, Varāha killing Hiraṇyāksha, Nṛisimha and Kalki can be compared with the terrible Tāntric gods, Yamāntaka, Hayagrīva, etc. Likewise have the latter such mixed bunches of human and animal heads as, in our frame, Para-Vāsudeva. This correspondence is not accidental. Those parallel types were developed on both sides at about the same time under similar circumstances. Sūrya and Mārīcī, Varāha and Vājravārāhī, Para-Vāsudeva and the Tāntric demon kings are contemporaries.

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[1] Jas. Burgess, Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples, London, 1883, pl. 43; the same, Elura Cave Temples, 1883, pl. 19; Jas. Burgess, Antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts, London, 1878, pl. 42; A. Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, London-Paris, 1917, pls. 20, 23, 25, 28.

[2] T. A. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, 1, p. 225ff., 1914. Cp. also F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā, Madras, 1916, and the edition of the latter by M. D. Rāmanujācārya and F. O. Schrader, Madras, 1916.

[3] Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, I, 1, p. 128ff.

[4] In rather Irānian costume; in like wise they appear in the Buddhist murals of Bāmiyān in purely Iranian costumes and armour, see the various publications by J. Hackin, J. Carl and A. Godard.

[5] The typological similarity between Varāha killing Hiraṇyāksha and Nṛisimha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu almost creates the impression that both cults had been competitive before they were subordinated to the same system.

[6] Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, I, 1, pl. 35.

But another relation forces itself on the mind of the observer: viz. that to Southern India. These terrible heroic figures are but too well known from the Deccan, the Das-Avatāra and the Kailāsanātha at Ellorā,[2] from Bādāmī,[3] Kāñcī (Conjeeveram),[4] and Tanjore. There we find Trivikrama, Varāha, Nṛisimha, etc., in almost the same poses, with almost the same expressions. Indeed, the nearest parallel to the lion heads on the Devasar frame, from Avantipur and Verināg is the Kevala-Nṛisimha of Bādāmī.[5] Also the sitting and flying godlings have their counterparts at Bādāmī and Ellorā. And the interpretation of Kṛishna is pronouncedly South Indian.

Other features, again, point in different directions. The diadems and other jewellery of the figures go back to the Kushān tradition of Gandhāra, but on the other side were, later on, taken over in Nepālese art. The boots and halos of the sun and moon gods are Īrānian, and the bandelets of the top piece, as well as the bandelets of the crowns[6] and long locks were likewise a Sāsānian heritage which later found its way into Nepālese and Tibetan art. The volutes of the lotus stalk can also be traced in Sāsānian art; but in this case the relation is the opposite one as the motif had in Gupta times developed from the old Kalpavṛiksha.[7] Nevertheless the rather abstract treatment so characteristic for Sāsānian art, is likewise so for North-Western India down to Gujarāt, and forms a sort of link between the purely Indian and the Sāsānian-Muslim interpretation of the motif. Whether the pronounced modelling of the faces distorted by fury, or of the belly muscles is a last remnant of the Gandhāra tradition,[8] or an independent development under Cālukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa influence, I do not venture to decide.

On comparison with the rest of Kashmīrī art, our frame must be dated into the end of the classic period, i.e. about the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. The introduction of the king (adoring Buddha-Avatāra), his two queens (adoring Mādhava and Krishna, the darlings of the ladies) and of two priests can be traced similarly in the sun temple of Mārtāṇḍ and in the Avantīśvara and Avantisvāmin at Avantipur.[1] The elegance of the figures, the mighty movements, the almost fierce vitality are characteristic of the style developed under Avantivarman (856–83 A.D.). But the predilection for innumerable diminutive figures and ornaments, so characteristic for all late styles, developed first under Śaṁkaravarman. However, the work of our frame must already represent a phase later than the temples of Pātan, though not too distant from their style. The technique of plating all the eyes with silver which we can observe in our frame, on the other hand, is quite common in North-Western Indian bronzes; it can be traced in the Fathpur Buddha (6th century A.D.) as well as in the Pāla bronzes from Kulū and Chambā.

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[1] Lokeśvara cannot be traced amongst the sculptures of Parihāsapura which otherwise appear as the prototype of the Buddha Avatāra figure of the Devasar frame, though he must already have been known; Kalhana, at least, quotes Lokanātha already for the reign of Jalauka (I, 138). Thus it looks improbable that the idol for which the frame had been prepared, likewise wore the hair style of Lokeśvara. Possibly the introduction of this hair style may in our case have represented another method of assimilating Buddha. For Lokeśvara could easily be equated with Yogāsana Vishnu.

[2] Jas. Burgess, Elura Cave Temples, London, 1883, esp. pls. 22, 24, 29; V. Goloubew, Le Kailāsa d'Ellora, Paris (Muśee Guimet) s.a.

[3] R. D. Banerji, Basreliefs of Bādāmī, Calcutta, 1928; Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, variis locis; Jas. Burgess, Operations in the Belgam and Kaladgi Districts, London, 1874.

[4] A. Rea, Pallava Architecture, Madras, 1909; A. H. Longhurst, Pallava Architecture, Calcutta, 1924–30; G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde, Paris, 1914.

[5] Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, I, 1, pl. 43.

[6] 'Vīrapaṭṭa'.

[7] V. S. Agrawala, Kalpavṛiksha: The Wish-Fulfilling Tree (*J.I.S.O.A.*, XI, p. 1ff., 1943).

[8] L. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, II, pl. 149, Paris, 1929; Jas. Burgess, The Gandhāra Sculpture (*J. Ind. Art and Industry*, VIII, p. 23ff., 1900, pl. 17, 1).

It is indeed a pity that no inscription mentions the name of the king under whom this fine sculptural brass frame had been dedicated. Fortunately the famous chronicle of Mediaeval Kashmir, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[2] supplies us with a lot of informations which permit us to identify him with as much certainty as any indirect evidence can make possible at all. As already mentioned, the style of our frame stands very near to that of the temples of Pātan, the Śaṁkaragaurīśvara and Sugandheśvara, though it seems to be somewhat later. Pātan had been founded by Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883–902), the son of the great Avantivarman (A.D. 855–883). According to Kalhana[3] Śaṁkaravarman was a not less clever and brilliant ruler than his great father. But in contrast to the latter, he was a disillusioned and unscrupulous debauchee who misused a still efficient administration for looting the country. He used every possible pretext for imposing new taxes or for sequestering private or public property, however, always maintaining the pretence of acting in the interest of the people. He took away the lands and treasures of sixty-four temples, instead providing them with other, naturally much smaller government grants. Kalhaṇa does not explain under which pretext these transactions were effected, but he states that Śaṁkaravarman despoiled the old capital Parihāsapura of whatever valuables, even building material, it possessed in order to construct his new capital Pātan. Parihāsapura had been a predominantly Buddhist place.[4] This creates the impression that this king oppressed the Buddhists in favour of the official Hindu cult in order to fill his own treasury, in the same manner as during the Reformation and Counter-reformation the princes of the Renaissance plundered Roman Catholics, Protestants or Jews in order to overcome their own financial difficulties. Now this fits very well into the evidence of our frame which, as we have seen, had been prepared for the purpose of converting a Buddhist shrine into a Vaishnava one. Of this earlier Buddhist sanctuary nothing is known, but as at Godhara (Gudar)[5] in the Devasarasa district there had been a royal castle since olden times, it is well possible that in Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa's reign some vihāra had been constructed or embellished there. Notwithstanding its cheap metal, the rich decoration of our frame must surely have impressed the pious people and must have deceived them with regard to the temple property which in the course of this conversion had found its way into the royal pockets. And perhaps there had been a sardonic by-motive in this conversion. As Buddha Avatāra, Vishnu had appeared on earth in order to lead astray the heretics towards their own destruction. Now the king, as a 'devout' Hindu, had humiliated and looted them. Śaṁkaravarman was a highly educated cynic though, in his contempt, he affected vulgar manners and speech.[1] Thus he may well have enjoyed such a joke. As these depredations were undertaken mainly in Śaṁkaravarman's later years, the style of the frame naturally reveals a phase already later than that of the Śaṁkaragaurīśvara and Sugandheśa temples at Pātan which had been constructed early in his reign.

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[1] These reliefs are arranged on both sides of the steps leading from the exterior entrance into the temple court, and again from the court up to the central shrine proper, so as to face the steps.

[2] *Kalhana's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, transl. by M. A. Stein, 2 vols., Westminster, 1900.

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 128ff.

[4] The Caitya of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa with its giant Buddha image, the Rājvihāra and the Stūpa of Caṅkuṇa which notwithstanding many misfortunes, destructions and spoliations, survived up to the time of Sikandar Būtshikān and which, even as mere ruins, are most impressive even today.

[5] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, transl. by A. Stein, vol. II, p. 115f. (Ancient Geography).

Kalhaṇa also reports[2] that Śaṁkaravarman had undertaken a successful expedition against the Gūrjara king Alakhāna of Takka, a vassal of the Pratihāra Bhoja and ally of Lalliya Śāhi of Ohind, and forced him to transfer his allegiance from Kanauj to Kashmīr. The Takka kingdom of the Gūrjaras the memory of whom survives there in the names of Gujrāt and Gujrānwāla near Lahore, was not very powerful, nor was Lalliya, the founder of the Brāhmin Śāhi dynasty, entrenched strongly enough to raise objections. But the Pratihāras were the mightiest dynasty of Northern India, and a king of Kashmīr could venture on a raid with impunity only as the ally of a more powerful adversary. As in those years the weak Bhoja II occupied the throne of Kanauj, this adversary must have been Krishna II of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkhed, those builders of the world-famous cave temples of Ellorā.[3] Such an alliance, however, with its corresponding cultural contacts, would easily account for the Deccanī style element in the iconography of the Devasar idol frame. On the other hand, prove these Deccanī style features that the frame cannot be earlier than the last years, if not year, of Śaṁkaravarman's reign.

Finally Kalhaṇa[4] narrates that after Śaṁkaravarman's death his queen Sugandhā became regent for some time (A.D. 903–06), was expelled (A.D. 906–914), returned and was at last executed. During her exile she retired to Hushkapura (Ushkur), the old Buddhist town opposite Bārāmūla. As suchlike royal exiles generally retreated to some place with which they had been connected by close religious links, and where they could expect asylum from the priesthood, it seems probable that also Sugandhā must have had suchlike personal connections with Ushkur. But these cannot have referred to the Buddhist monasteries there. On the other hand, Ushkur was the fashionable residential quarter of Bārāmūla on the opposite side of the Jhelum (Vitastā), the old-famous centre of the cult of Varāha.[1] Now, as we have already seen, Varāha-Avatāra appears three times on our frame whereas all the other avatāras are only once represented, and two omitted. Was this preference due to the chief queen's personal devotion?

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[1] The chronique scandaleuse of Mediaeval Kashmīr often reminds of the worst records of Imperial Rome. Its psychological causes must be sought not only in the corruption of unrestricted power, but not less in the rebellion against the pressure of etiquette and duties to which the princes had been exposed, on the other hand seeing through all the cant of flatteries and official moralizing behind which there lurked envy, murder and revolt.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 136ff.

[3] There is some difficulty with regard to the exact years of this expedition, as the traditional dates leave some discrepancy: Śaṁkaravarman 883–902, Lalliya *ca.* 880–900, Bhoja II 908-09, resp. 907-08, Krishna II, 875–912. As most of our dates are merely approximate, there is no reason to question this synchronism. However, it would force us to place Śaṁkaravarman's reign some years later than calculated by Sir Aurel Stein, as the evidence for the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Pratihāras is more numerous and reliable than that for Kashmīr.

[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 256–262.

In any case, the various divine incarnations terribly smashing demons and infidels must have been to the liking of Śaṁkaravarman who enjoyed oppressing the old and, so far comparatively independent, powers in the state, with which his father Avantivarman had still been forced to deal very cautiously, and which had threatened the new king himself at the beginning of his reign.

Thus we may identify the king at the feet of Buddha Avatāra with Śaṁkaravarman, the queen adoring Keśava (Plate II*a*) tentatively with Sugandhā, the other queen lower down, to the feet of Kṛishna Vaṁsīdhar (Plate II*b*) perhaps with Surendrāvatī[2] who became a satī on Śaṁkaravarman's death, whereas the priests must have been the spiritual advisers of the king who had been responsible for his policy.[3]

Thus our brass frame is a most interesting document of a revolutionary phase in Indian art history. On the one side it has preserved archaic Buddhist traditions which had flourished in India proper in late Gupta and early Pratihāra times (*ca.* 6th–8th centuries A.D.): The parabolic outline of the frame, the fiery halo, the small rosette frieze, lotus volutes, the Kalpavṛiksha frieze, the Nāga figures, the iconographic echoes of Lokeśvara and Avalokiteśvara and of terrible Tantric gods. By their side, however, there stands the mighty typology of the Hinduistic revival under the Pallava, the Cālukya and especially the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasties of the Deccan. Finally there are faint echoes of Kushāna and Sāsānian art. On the other hand, the frame must be regarded as representing an early phase of the bronze and brass sculpture known to us mainly from Nepāl and Western Tibet.

The links we do not yet know sufficiently. Even the relation between late Gandhāra and Kashmīr architecture, although quite obvious, is anything but clear to us.[4] Gupta art may have been introduced during the regency of Mātṛigupta,[5] but most of the traditions which we find surviving, cannot be earlier than the reign of Pravarasena II, and possibly go back to emigrees.[6] The style of the Deccan must have reached Kashmīr as a result of Śaṁkaravarman's alliance with the Rāshṭrakūṭas against Kanauj. Whether the Buddhist art of Nepāl was enriched also by refugees from other parts of India than Bengal and Bihār at the time when Muslim persecution drove out the Buddhists, we do not know. Sikandar Butshi-

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[1] *Rājatarangiṇī*, transl. by A. Stein, vol. II, p. 482f. (Ancient Geography).

[2] *Rājatarangiṇī*, V, 226.

[2] Possibly Nāyaka, the high priest of Pātan (*Raj.*, V, 159), or the trusted minister Sukharājā (V, 223).

[4] The revival of this tradition took place three centuries after the Hūna invasion. And as the Huns had temporarily overrun Kashmīr, whereas thereafter Gupta influence became to be felt, the Gandhāra tradition can no more have had much vitality. The question, thus, arises how far its renaissance was based on a conscious imitation and study of older monuments, not on a continuous tradition. See also H. Goetz, Beginnings of Mediaeval Art in Kashmir, above.

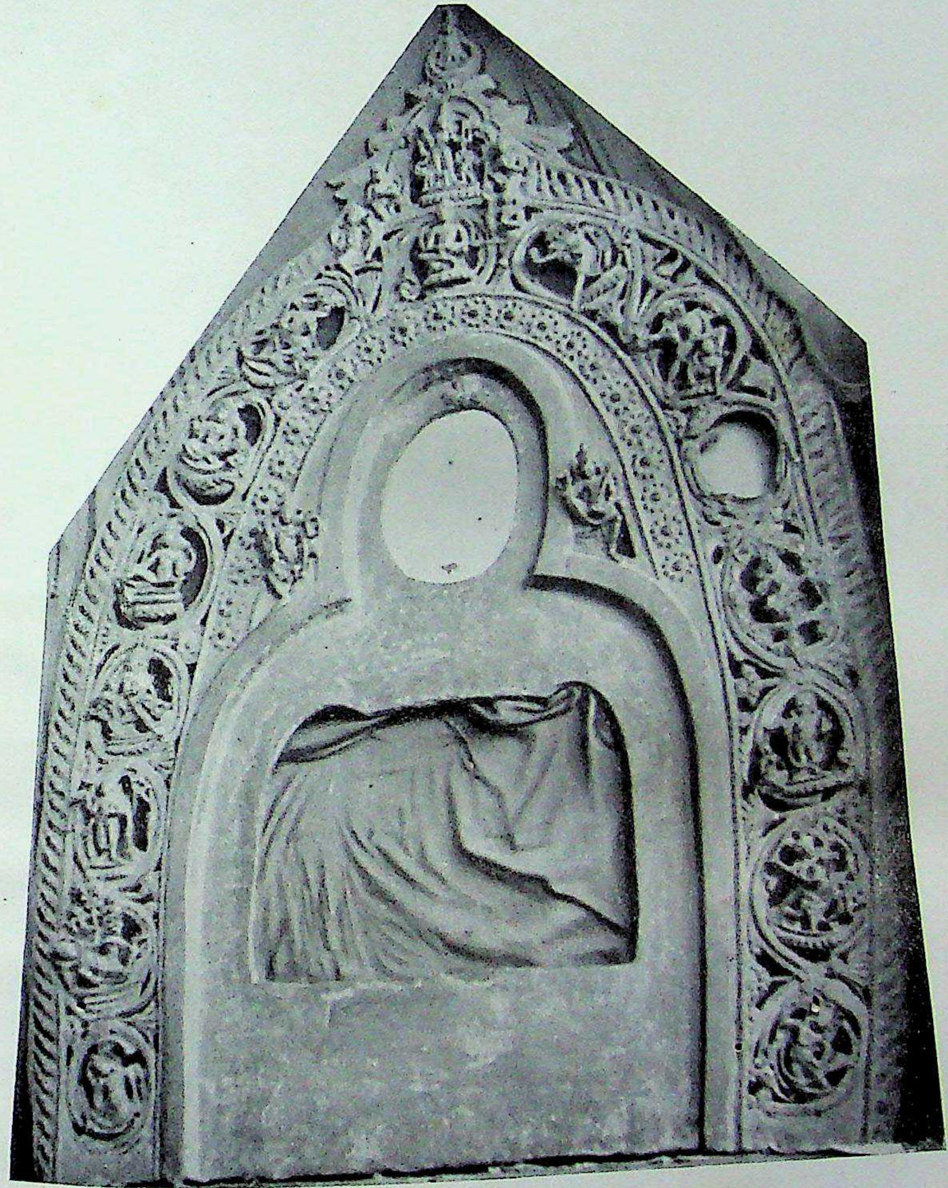
[5] Kalhaṇa's account of Mātṛigupta and Pravarasena II can be accepted as no more than semi-historical. But it proves at least a political and cultural dependence on the successor kingdom, in Mālva, of the Imperial Guptas in the first half of the 6th century A.D.

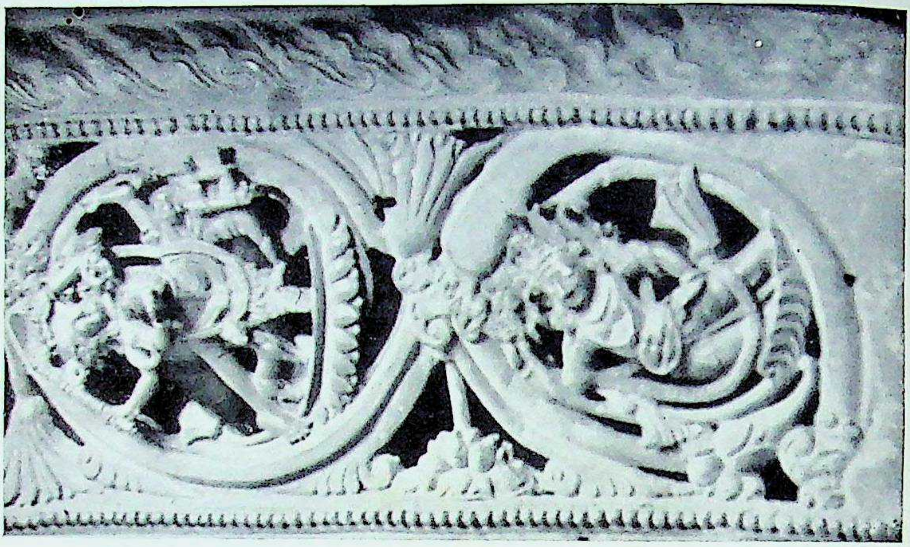
[6] G. Tucci, I Templi del Tibet Occidentale e il loro Simbolismo Artistico, I: Spiti e Kunavar, Roma, 1935; A. H. Francke, Antiquities of Western Tibet, I, pl. 18, Calcutta, 1914; H. Lee-Shuttleworth, Lha-lun Temple, Spyi-ti, Calcutta, 1929, mentions 32 Kashmīrī artists in service of Rin-chen-bzan-po (A.D. 956–1054).

PLATE I.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED





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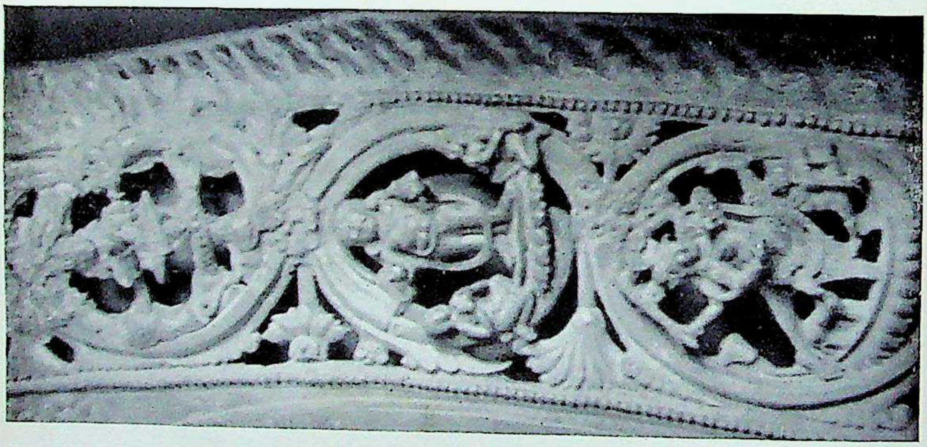

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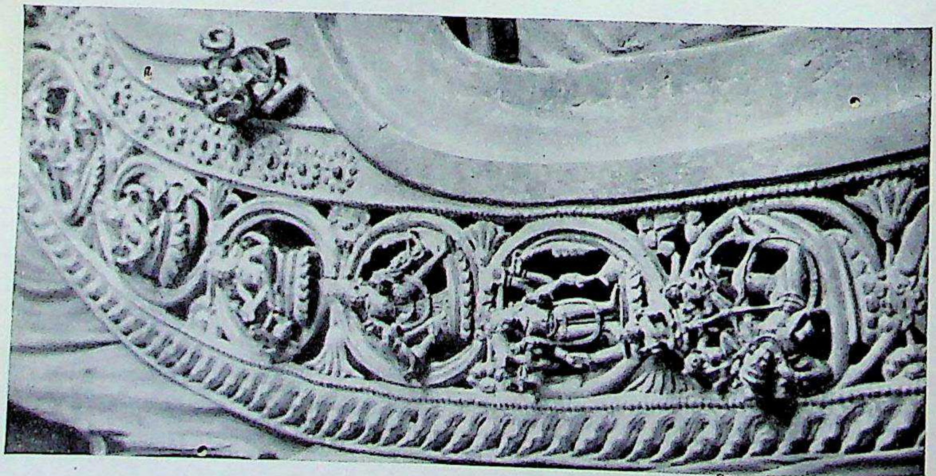

a

kān (A.D. 1390–1411) forced thousands of Hindus out of Kashmīr; but already before that time the disqualification of the Buddhists, already mentioned, and the civil wars must have had the same effect. At least in Ladakh, Spiti and Skardo such an influence from Kashmīr has been proved.[1] Our frame itself is the monument of such an enforced conversion of a Buddhist sanctuary into a Vaishnava temple under Śaṁkaravarman. Moreover, it is a rare monument of Indian 'bronze' art, devoid of the sweet grace which we generally tend to connect with Indian aesthetics; instead, endowed with that overwhelming vitality and power, with which we are otherwise acquainted from the famous sculptures of Bādāmī and Ellorā.

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[1] See footnote 6, p. 54.

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A FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM BHĪṬĀ

By Sri Priyatosh Banerjee

(*Paper received on 3rd April, 1952*)

The present inscription is engraved on a fragment of a stone umbrella-staff which was found in the course of the excavations at Bhīṭā in 1911-12. Its text was published along with an English translation by Marshall in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1911-12, p. 44, without, however, any facsimile or remarks regarding its date and object. I edit it from the original record which is now deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The epigraph, as extant, consists of six lines of writing. As a result of the fragmentation of the staff (on which it is inscribed) the beginning and ends of almost all the lines are mutilated. It is written in early Kushān script and is dated in the year 18 of an era the name of which is not preserved. But the year in question belongs presumably to the Śaka era, as the palaeography of the record would show.

The language is Prakrit. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of an umbrella-staff for Maṇibhadra by a person whose name is not extant.

Text [1]

1. ……[2] sa aṭhādasa sa [3] [ṁvatsare]
2. …… takasa sorāje ni……
3. …… sanātinā [4] gahapa [tinā]
4. …… ru [5] (?) tasa [6] asasapu (?)……
5. …… ke [7] (?) nakasa putena sa [8]……
6. …… Manibhadasa chato kā [rapito]

Translation

In the year eighteen of ……..during the prosperous reign of…… taka by…, a householder, with his kinsmen……by a son of……kenaka(?) ……an umbrella was caused to be made for Maṇibhadra.

Maṇibhadra is the name of a famous Yaksha. The erection of an umbrella[9] (which is an important symbol of royalty or spiritual greatness as the case may be) in his honour would suggest beyond doubt his divinity. The Deoriya Yaksha figure also (described by Coomaraswamy in his '*Origin of the Buddha Image*', p. 27, fig. 47) is shown with an umbrella over his head. It is quite possible that this Yaksha figure also was a cult object.

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[1] From the original record as well as its estampage.

[2] Only the lower limb of this letter is visible, but nothing can be made out.

[3] The right half of the letter is broken.

[4] The left half of the letter is broken.

[5] The left portion of the letter is broken, the medial *u* mark, however, is clear. The letter may be *pu* also.

[6] The surface of the letter is chipped off.

[7] Only the left portion of the letter is extant. It is, however, very difficult to ascertain what the letter was.

[8] Only the lower left limb of the letter is extant.

[9] The umbrella is essentially a kingly attribute. 'The umbrella par-excellence—the white one—was held over the king in whose presence no one else dared to hold a parasol' (Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures*, p. 96). Since 'the early conception of a divine personage' was based 'upon that of an ideal ruler' (Coomaraswamy, *Origin of the Buddha Image*, p. 19), most of the attributes (including the umbrella) of such a ruler came to be analogically ascribed by the sculptors or devotees to the divinities of

That the Yakshas were worshipped as cult objects in ancient India is known from various sources, literary and archaeological. The royal house of Magadha, as we find in the *Mahābhārata*, worshipped the Yakshiṇī Jarā and Jarāsandha was named after her. The *Mahābhārata* refers also to Yaksha Maṇivara or Maṇibhadra as Kubera's chief attendant, and lord of wealth and treasures. He is invoked as a patron of merchants with Kubera. The *Niddeśa* commentary refers among various other cults to the worship of Yaksha Maṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra. Many Yaksha-Chaityas or sanctuaries of Yakshas are said to have existed in different parts of India in early days as we find in Buddhist as well as Jaina texts.[1] The *Mahāmāyūrī*[2] which was a well-recognized Buddhist text in the 7th century A.D. and was perhaps considerably older in origin, mentions several Yakshas as being the tutelary divinities of particular cities and places of India and further says that Maṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra, the two brother Yakshas, were worshipped in Brahmāvatī, a place which was probably near the Punjab.

The antiquity of the cult of Maṇibhadra is clearly revealed by an inscribed image depicting his figure which was found by Garde at a place called Pāwāyā (ancient Padmāvatī), Gwalior State.[3] The inscription which occurs on the front face of the pedestal is written in Brāhmī script of the 1st century B.C.[4] It describes the figure as *bhagavat* Maṇibhadra and states that his image was set up by his worshippers who were members of a guild. The epithet *bhagavat* and the fact that the image was erected by a band of *bhaktas* leave no doubt as to Maṇibhadra's divinity. This figure of Yaksha Maṇibhadra is similar in style to the two Patna Yaksha figures. The latter were probably, as O. C. Ganguly[5] has suggested, the two tutelary deities of the city of Nandivardhana in Magadha.

In short, the inscribed Pāwāyā figure of Maṇibhadra shows the existence of a cult associated with this Yaksha in the 1st century B.C. That this cult[6] was also popular in the Kushān period is proved by the Bhīṭā record under discussion.

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their choice. That the umbrella is an important attribute of spiritual or religious greatness (besides being a *rājakīya* symbol) since an early time is evident from its association with several deities or divine personages. One of the Bodhisattva figures set up by friar Bala was endowed, we know, with an umbrella-staff a fragment of which with a mutilated inscription is still extant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 291). Buddha in his descent from the Trayastriṁśa heaven at Sāṅkāśya is shown attended by Brahmā and Śakra, the latter holding an umbrella over him (i.e. Buddha). Parasols are found over many Hindu as well as Jaina deities also. For a detailed account of the umbrella attention may be drawn to the excellent notes by Penzar, '*The Ocean of Story*', C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathā-saritsāgara*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 263–272 and Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures*, p. 96f.

[1] R. P. Chanda, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. IV, pp. 77–84.

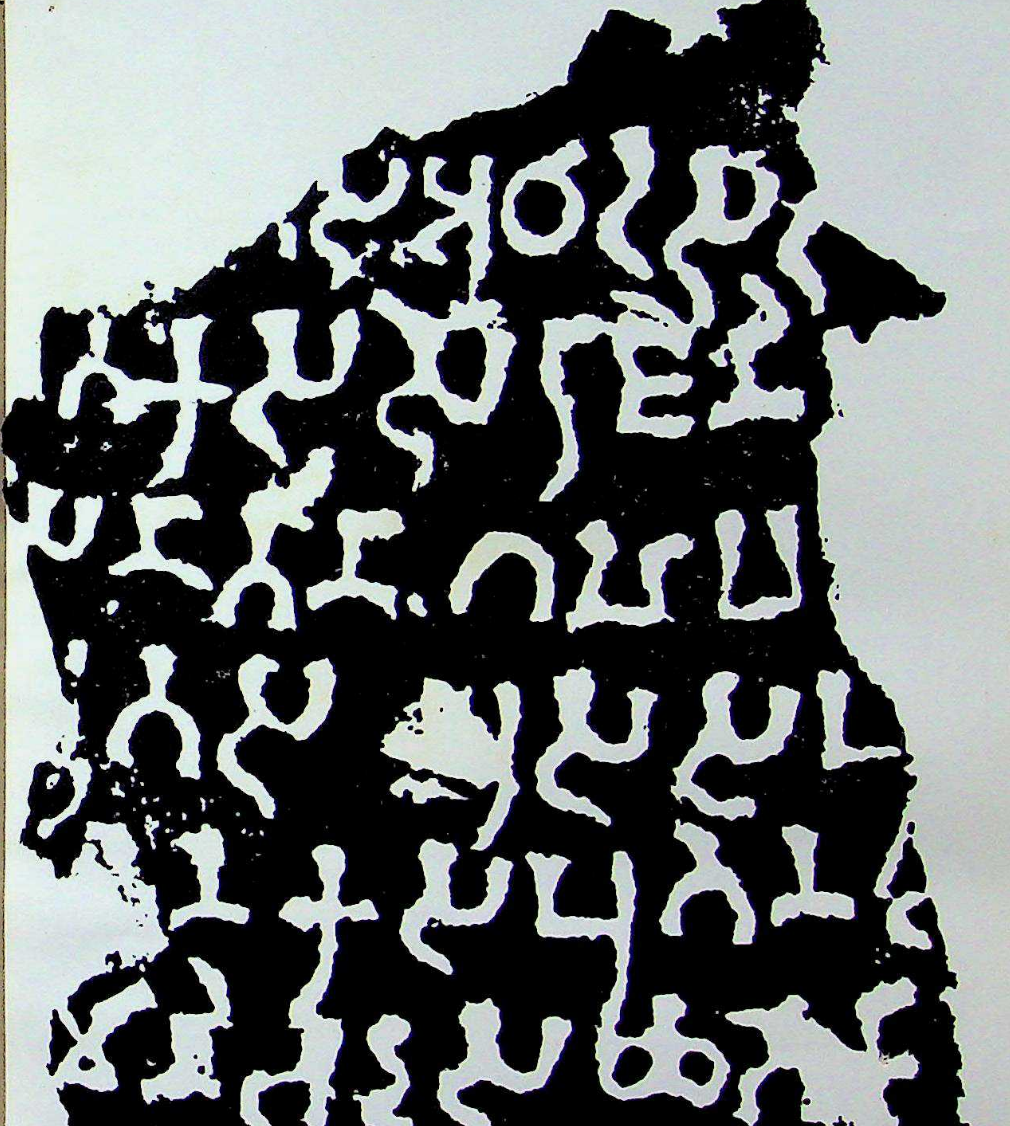
[2] *J.A.*, 1915, p. 38.

[3] *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1915-16, p. 106.

[4] Garde assigned the image to the Kushān period (1st or 2nd century A.D.), but palaeographically it should belong to an earlier date, i.e. 1st century B.C. as Chanda has suggested (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. IV, pp. 50ff). This date well accords with the style and technique of the figure.

[5] *Modern Review*, October, 1919; cf. Coomaraswamy, *The Origin of the Buddha Image*, p. 12.

[6] The subject of Yaksha worship in ancient India has been very ably dealt with by Coomaraswamy in his famous work '*Yakshas*' (in two parts).



A Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Bhīṭā.

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GUNJI ROCK INSCRIPTION

By D. C. SIRCAR, *Ootacamund*

(*Paper received on 27th November, 1952*)

The village of Gunji lies about 14 miles to the north-west of the Sakti Station on the old Bengal-Nagpur Railway. There is a pool of water at the foot of a hill near the village and on its bank stands a rock bearing an inscription. The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar examined the epigraph and noticed it in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, 1903-04, p. 54. It has been recently edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 48ff. Some years ago I had an opportunity to examine an impression of the record, which had been kindly supplied to me by Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sarma of Raigarh, and I utilized it in writing my section on South Kosala contributed to the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III (in the press). Recently I also examined another impression of the inscription, which had been prepared under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Central Circle (Patna), Department of Archaeology, on the 17th of February, 1931, and is preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. And now of course we have before us the facsimile of the epigraph published in the *Epigraphia Indica* along with Prof. Mirashi's paper.

My views on the Gunji inscription differ from those of Bhandarkar and Mirashi at least in two important respects. The first of these relates to the date of the record and the second to the name of the king during whose rule it was engraved.

Both Bhandarkar and Mirashi assign the Gunji inscription on palaeographical grounds to the first century A.D. But, comparing its characters, which are rather carelessly incised and are damaged in many cases, with those of other South Indian inscriptions of about the second century A.D., I am inclined to assign it to a slightly later date than that proposed. Prof. Mirashi observes, 'In the advanced forms of several letters, the present inscription resembles the Nasik inscription of Uṣavadāta; but since it exhibits a considerable admixture of archaic forms not noticed in the latter, I put it slightly earlier.' Such occasional use of early forms of letters side by side with their later developments is however a peculiarity of the Eastern Deccan, especially of the Kaliṅga region (cf. Bühler's 'later Kaliṅga script'). The recently discovered Bhadrak (Balasore District, Orissa) inscription (second half of the third century) also exhibits this characteristic. In my opinion, the palaeography of the Gunji inscription suggests a date in the second century A.D. Such letters as *s* in *Goḍachasa* (line 2) with its top-*mātrā*, *m* (cf. *kumāra* and *pacame* in line 1 and *amacena* in line 3) having only a horizontal stroke as its lower limb, the circular medial *i*-mark in *si* (*sidha* in line 1; cf. also *di* in *divase* in the same line), etc., can hardly be expected in a South Indian epigraph earlier than that century.

Bhandarkar read the name of the king, during whose reign the Gunji inscription was incised, as Kumāra-Vasanta which is however clearly unwarranted. Prof. Mirashi reads the name as *Kumāravaradatasiri*, i.e., Kumāravaradatta-*śrī* or *śrī*-Kumāravaradatta. He observes that the letter *va* 'looks like *ma*, but is probably a double-triangled *va* noticed by

Bühler.' In the impressions examined by me, I find traces like those of a medial *i*-mark above the right upper end of the letter and they are not totally absent even in Prof. Mirashi's facsimile. The marks above the letter, noticed by Prof. Mirashi, along with the curved prolongation of the right one of them, ignored by him, represent in my opinion the sign of medial *ī*. The vowel mark of *vī* in this case may be compared with *ṭhī* in *Vāsiṭhīputena* in line 2, although Prof. Mirashi reads it as *ṭhi*. In my opinion therefore the name of the king mentioned in the Gunji inscription is Kumāravīradatta (literally, 'one dedicated to [the god] Kumāravīra).'

Kumāra is the well-known name of the god Skanda-Kārttikeya. That he was conceived as a *vīra* or hero *par excellence* is clear not only from his career as depicted in the epics and the Purāṇas but also from the fact that the *Mahābhārata* (III, 231, verses 8 and 10) enumerates *Śūra* and *Suvīra*, both having the meaning of *vīra*, in a list of the names of this deity. The name Kumāravīradatta no doubt reminds us of an Ikṣvāku king who flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region about the middle of the third century A.D. and bore the similar name Vīrapuruṣadatta. In this name, Puruṣa is apparently no other than Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa and Vīra-Puruṣa is the same as Vīra-Nārāyaṇa.

I have also a few other suggestions, to offer in regard to Prof. Mirashi's reading and interpretation, with which I cannot agree entirely.

At the end of line 1 and the beginning of the next line, Prof. Mirashi reads: *amacasa paṭhaviya dha*[*mena*] *Goḍachasa ṇatukeṇa*. By this he seems to understand: 'by one who was the grandson of *Amātya* Goḍacha and was a veritable Dharma on earth.' But the construction of the sentence in question looks rather awkward as read and interpreted by the Professor. Moreover, in what has been read as *paṭhaviya*, the third *akṣara* is certainly not *vi*. I am inclined to read the passage as *amacasa P*[*o*]*ṭhadhiya po*[*tasa*] *Goḍachasa ṇatukeṇa*, 'by one who was the grandson of Goḍacha the grandson of *Amātya* Proṣṭhadhī (Prauṣṭhadhī).' The name Proṣṭhadhī or Prauṣṭhadhī (literally, 'one whose thought is on the bull [of Śiva]') reminds us of Prauṣṭhadatta or °deva, Prauṣṭhaśrī, etc. (cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 173, 174, 176).

In line 2, in the passage *amabha*(*ca*)*sa Mataju*(*ja*)*napālitasa* as read by Prof. Mirashi, the reading of the first word may be *amatasa* (cf. *t* in *dataṁ* in line 2 and also the different types of *t* reproduced from certain Mathura inscriptions by Ojha in his *Prācīna-lipi-mālā*, Plates V-VI). More important is, however, the fact that what has been read as *Bodhadatena* appears to me quite clearly *Poṭhadatena*. Thus in my opinion, the person whose donations are recorded in the Gunji inscription is not Bodhadatta but Proṣṭhadatta or Prauṣṭhadatta.

At the end of line 3, what Prof. Mirashi reads as *Dinika-naqi*(*ti*)*kena* appears to me to be *Dānisa natikana*, 'by one who was the grandson of Dānin.'

In line 4, in the passage *Idadevena* as read by Prof. Mirashi, the third *akṣara*, is certainly *da* and not *de*, while the following *akṣara* may be an ill-shaped and cursive *te* (cf. *t* in *dataṁ* in line 3). Thus the name may be *Indradatta* instead of *Indradeva*. Then again what the Professor reads as *dataṁ . . . . gosahasaṁ ya* is in my opinion *datā . . . . gosahasāya* (i.e. *dattāḥ . . . . gosahasrāya*). According to Prof. Mirashi's reading and interpretation, the last sentence of the Gunji inscription states: 'In view of this gift (i.e. the second of the two *go-sahasras*), a thousand cows were donated by Indradeva.' In this section, the passage 'in view of this gift' (*etasa ca vibhavanā*, i.e. *etasya Proṣṭhadatta-pradatta-dvitīya-gosahasrasya ca vibhāvanāt*) seems to me entirely uncalled for and meaningless in the context. Moreover the letter read as *ca* has a very clear medial *e*-mark, while I find no mark of medial *i* above the following letter. The first of these two *akṣaras* is either *ce* or *ye*. I am therefore inclined to read the passage as *etasa ye va bhāvaṭā* = *etasya Proṣṭhadatta-pradatta-dvitīya-gosahasrasya ye eva bhāvāṭāḥ . . . . Indradevena* (*°dattena?*) *dattā Brāhmaṇānāṁ gosahasrāya*. It seems to me therefore that, in connection with the second gift of the *go-sahasra* by Proṣṭhadatta, the cost of the decoration, etc., (*bhāvāṭāḥ*) of the cattle was borne by Indradeva or Indradatta. This also explains why there is no mention of a date in this connection.

A few other minor differences between my transcript and Prof. Mirashi's need not be specifically mentioned. But a word may be said about the linguistic and orthographic peculiarity of the record. We find medial *u* used in place of *a* in *ruṁño*, *usubha* and *juna*, while the dative has been used instead of the usual genitive in *go-sahasāya*. The use of *udupāna* for *udapāna* in Aśoka's inscriptions (Kal. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4; Top. VII, 23) may be compared with *usubha* for *usabha* and the change of *a* to *u* may be regarded as due to the influence of the preceding *u*. The medial *u* in *ju* however may have been really intended for the preceding *akṣara*.

TEXT

1 Sidha (||*) Ṇamo bhagavato (||*) Ru(Ra)ṁño Kumāravīradata-s[i]risa saṁvachare pacame Hemata-pakhe catuthe 4 divase [paṁcada*]se 10(+*)5 bhagavato Usu(sa)bhatithe amacasa P[o]ṭhadhiya po[tasa]

2 Goḍachasa ṇatukeṇa amatasa Mataju(ja)napālita[sa] pu[te]na amacena daṁḍanāyakena balādhikateṇa Vāsiṭhī-putena Poṭhadatena dataṁ vasa-sahas-āyu-vadhanike

3 [Ba]mhanāṇaṁ go-sahasaṁ 1000 (|*) Saṁvachare [cha]ṭhe 6 Gimha-pakhe chaṭhe 6 diva[se 10] bitiyam go-sahasaṁ dataṁ 1000 (|*) etasa ye va bhāva[ṭā] amacena da[ṁ]ḍanāyakena Dāni[sa nat]ikana

4 **[sa pute*]na Idadave(te ?)na datā Bahmanānaṁ go-sahasāya (||*)

TRANSLATION

Let there be success! Obeisance to the Lord (Viṣṇu). On the fifteenth—15—day of the fourth—4—fortnight of Hemanta in the fifth (regnal) year of the king, the illustrious Kumāravīradatta, a thousand—1000—(heads of) cattle were given to the Brāhmaṇas at Ṛṣabhatīrtha, (the sacred place) of the Lord (Viṣṇu), by *Amātya-Daṇḍanāyaka-Balādhikṛta* Proṣṭhadatta, the son of Vāsiṣṭhī and *Amātya* Mātṛjanapālita and the grandson of *Amātya* Goḍacha (who was) the grandson of *Amātya* Proṣṭhadhī, for augmenting (his) life for a thousand years. On the 10th day of the sixth—6—fortnight of Grīṣma in the sixth—6—(regnal) year (of the same king), a second donation of a thousand—1000—(heads of) cattle was made (by the same person). Whatever were the decorations of this (second thousand of cattle) were given by *Amātya-Daṇḍanāyaka* Indradeva (or, Indradatta), son of . . . . (and) grandson of Dānin, in consideration of (the gift of) one thousand cattle in favour of the Brāhmaṇas.

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KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS CONCERNING FISH AND FISHERIES OF INDIA

4. Fish in the Sūtra and Smṛti Literature

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Sūtras and Smṛtis

After the Vedic period, separate treatises came to be written on rules concerning social laws, sacrificial rituals and domestic ceremonies, respectively called *Dharma-sūtras*, *Śrauta-sūtras* and *Gṛhya-sūtras*. Each one of these types has come down to us in different versions, composed or compiled by different authors at different times in different regions. The *Smṛtis* deal with the same subjects, but no longer recognize the triple distinction. In other words, a *Smṛti* work treats of the three subjects in one and the same treatise. Besides, what is stated in the *Sūtras* in a very concise manner is described in an elaborate way in a *Smṛti*. Again, *Smṛtis* give more prominence to social laws and are hence known by the alternative designation of *Dharma-śāstras*. Like *Sūtra* treatises, *Smṛtis*, too, have been handed down to us in various versions, ascribed to various authors, throwing light on local practices obtaining in different regions.

As indicated above, the *Sūtras* generally precede the *Smṛtis* in point of time. It has, however, not been possible to assign a precise date to any *Sūtra* or *Smṛti*. Most of them are placed in the centuries immediately preceding Christ. Those wishing to know the latest views on the subject of age of these early works are referred to Dr. P. V. Kane's monumental work, in four volumes, on the *History of Dharmaśāstra*.

REFERENCES TO FISH [1]

References to fish in the *Sūtras* and the *Smṛtis* are only casual. Though they are few and far between, yet they reveal to a considerable extent the part played by fish in man's affairs in those early days in India. It shows also that for the Hindus, most of whom are now vegetarian, fish then formed an important item of food.

Apart from general allusions to fish here and there, we have references to specific types of fish in different contexts. Chiefly it is in connection either with the *śrāddhas* (i.e. ceremonies where food is offered to the manes and is actually consumed by Brāhmaṇa priests) or with certain forbidden foods that different types of fish are mentioned.

When not forbidden, certain species are shown preference over others, either for higher merit or for their greater food value. Again, when meat does form a part of offered food, fish is often declared superior to flesh of other animals.

GENERAL REFERENCES

The *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, a much later work (between 200 and 400 A.C.),[2] says: 'The inhabitants of the East are fish-eaters'.[3] By 'the East' here are meant obviously the eastern parts of India, including Bengal, as well as the lands and islands lying to the east of India.

By far the most celebrated *Smṛti* is that of Manu, variously called *Manu Smṛti*, *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* or *Mānavīya Dharmaśāstra*. Parts of this work are assigned to 400 B.C. There are several commentaries on it. The work is a fairly extensive one, comprising nearly three thousand verses. As we shall presently see, it refers to fish time and again in various contexts. In its chapter on the transmigration of soul, fish is bracketed with those creatures which are supposed to be the product of *tamas* or the creatures of the lowest kind.[4] Manu says:

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[1] Law, B. C.—*Indological Studies*, Part I, Calcutta. (1950), pp. 107-108.
'As for fishes, Vaśiṣṭha and Āpastamba allow all but the Ceṭa. Baudhāyana permits the eating of the *silurus boalis,* the fish called *cilicima* (popularly known as *vāliyā*), the *varmī*, the *maśakari*, the *rohita* (*cyprinus rohita*), and the *rājīva.* In the opinion of Manu (v. 16), the *pāṭhīna* (*silurus boalis*) and the *rohita* may be eaten, if used for offering to the gods or to the manes, while the *rājīva* (those marked with lines), the *siṁhatuṇḍa* (lion-beaked) and the *saśalka* (those having fins and scales) may be eaten on all occasions. The law-books prohibit the fishes that are misshapen. Āpastamqa forbids also those which are snake-headed and those which live on flesh only.'

[2] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 210.

[3] See Julius Jolly's translation of the *Bṛihaspati Smṛti* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIII, chapter II, verse 10.

[4] Hindu philosophy recognizes three qualities or modes that constitute NATURE; these are: *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Compare *Bhagavadgītā*:

sattvaṁ rajas tama iti
guṇāḥ prakṛti-saṁbhavāḥ |
nibadhnanti mahābāho
dēhē dēhinam avyayam ||—(XIV, 5)

'The three modes (*guṇas*) goodness (*sattva*), passion (*rajas*), and dullness (*tamas*) born of nature (*prakṛti*) bind down in the body, O Mighty-armed (Arjuna), the imperishable dweller-in-the-body (i.e. soul.)'

ūrdhvaṁ gacchanti sattva-sthā
madhyē tiṣṭhanti rājasāḥ |
jaghanya-guṇa-vṛtti-sthā
adhō gacchanti tāmasāḥ ||—(XIV, 18)

'Those who are established in goodness rise upwards; the passionate remain in the middle; the dull steeped in the lower tendencies sink downwards.'

sthāvarāḥ kṛmi-kīṭāś = ca
matsyāḥ sarpāḥ sa-kacchapāḥ |
paśavaś = ca mṛgāś = c = aiva
jaghanyās = tāmasī gatiḥ ||—(XII, 42.)

'Immovable beings, insects (both small and big), fishes, snakes, tortoises, cattle and wild animals are the lowest conditions to which the quality of *tamas* leads.'

Earlier, in its chapter on creation, it places fish among those animals that are born from eggs:

aṇḍajāḥ pakṣiṇaḥ sarpā
nakrā matsyāś=ca kacchapāḥ—(I, 44.)

'From eggs are born birds, snakes, crocodiles, fishes, tortoises, ...'

REFERENCES TO FISH AS FOOD

Fish is mentioned as an item of food both as ordinary victuals and as offerings to the manes and gods. In the *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, which is perhaps the earliest of all the *Sūtras* (600–400 B.C.),[1] we have a list of things, including fish, which, it is enjoined, one should not refuse when voluntarily offered. The passage runs as follows:

ēdh-ōdaka-yavasa-mūla-phala-madhv-
abhay-ābhyudyata-śayy-āsan-āvasatha-
yāna-payō-dadhi-dhānā-śapharī-priyaṅgu-
sraṅ-mārga-śākāny=apraṇōdyāni sarvēṣām ||

'Fire-wood, water, grass, roots, fruits, honey, (a promise of) safety, food brought unsolicited, a couch, a seat, shelter, a carriage, milk, sour milk, (roasted) grain, small fish, millet, a garland, venison, and vegetables, (spontaneously offered by a man) of any (caste) must not be refused.'[2]

The *Vāsiṣtha Dharmasūtra* (XIV, 12) has the same passage with certain modifications. The list here, however, does contain *śapharī* which has been taken to mean 'small fish'. Particular stress is laid on the fact that the things enumerated are acceptable from persons even of the lowest class. The corresponding text in the *Manu Smṛti* (IV, 250) runs as follows:

śayyāṁ gṛhān kuśān gandhān
apaḥ pushpaṁ maṇīn dadhi |
dhānā matsyān payō māṁsaṁ
śākaṁ c=aiva na nirṇudēt ||

'A couch, a house, Kuśa grass, perfumes, water, flowers, jewels, sour milk, grain, fish, sweet milk, meat, and vegetables let him not reject (if they are voluntarily offered).'[3] The same, with slight variations, is found in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (IX, 214) as well. It may be observed that the term used for 'fish' in this context in the *Sūtras* is *śapharī*, whereas in the *Smṛtis* it is *matsya*. Obviously they both refer to fish in general.

Cooked fish used to be offered in *śrāddha* ceremonies. In the *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (XV, 15), we are told that manes are satisfied for three years

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[1] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 19.

[2] *S.B.E.*, Vol. II, p. 265.

[3] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 167-8. The word *maṇi* in the original has been translated by 'jewel'. Considering the association of the other things in the list, however, it may better be rendered by 'pitcher' or 'water-pot'.

'by fish and the flesh of common deer, spotted deer, hares, turtles, boars, and sheep.'[1] Here obviously the reference is to fish in general.

In a similar context, the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* refers to a particular kind of fish, named Śatabali:

> *khaḍg-ōpastaraṇē khaḍga-māṁsēn-ānantyaṁ kālam*
> *tathā śatabalēr=matsyasya māṁsēna* . . . . .[2]

'(If) a rhinoceros' meat (is given to Brāhmaṇas seated) on (seats covered with) the skin of a rhinoceros, (the Manes are satisfied) for a very long time. The same (effect is obtained) by (offering the) flesh of the fish (called) Śatabalī, ...'[3]

In the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra*, considered to be the latest of the *Sūtras*, there is a general statement in this context:

> *dvau māsau matsya-māṁsēna*—(LXXX, 2.)

'The flesh of fishes (except those species that are forbidden) for two months,'[4] which is repeated in the *Manu Smṛti* (III, 268).[5] This last work attaches greater importance to the particular fish called Mahāśalka which 'eaten by hermits in the forest serve for an endless time'.[6] The *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (X, 258–61) is in agreement with the *Manu Smṛti*, though here the statement is more elaborate.

References to Fish as Forbidden Food

More information can be derived from references to those species of fish that are specifically excepted or forbidden. Commentaries on them are also more prolific, because every one of the commentators has tried in his own way to make positive inferences as to the types of fishes that are *permissible* if certain others are *not permitted* as food.

The *Gautama Dharmasūtra* includes fishes among those animals that may be eaten, but lays down a condition that the fishes should not be 'misshapen' (XVII, 36):

> *matsyāś=c=āvikṛtāḥ*

'And fishes that are not misshapen.'[7] As to what is meant by 'not misshapen' here, according to the commentator Maskarī, it implies normal fishes, which look like fishes and not like any other animal. This is made further clear by the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, where the text runs as follows:

> *abhakṣyaś=cēṭō matsyānām*
> *sarpaśīrṣō mṛduraḥ kravyādō*
> *yē c=ānyē vikṛtā yathā manuṣyaśirasaḥ* [8]

'Amongst fishes, the Cēṭa ought not to be eaten,'
'Nor the snake-headed fish, nor the alligator, nor those which live on flesh only, nor those which are misshaped (like) mermen.'[9]

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[1] *S.B.E.*, Vol. II, p. 256.

[2] *Praśna* II, *Paṭala* 7, *Khaṇḍa* 17, *sūtras* 1 and 2.

[3] *S.B.E.*, Vol. II, p. 143.

[4] *S.B.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 249.

[5] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, p. 124.

[6] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, p. 125 (verse 272).

[7] *S.B.E.*, Vol. II, p. 269.

[8] *Praśna* I, *Paṭala* 6, *Khaṇḍa* 17, *sūtras* 38 and 39.

[9] *S.B.E.*, Vol. II, p. 65. (The given translation does not seem to be accurate. The idea seems to be that odd-looking fishes should be avoided, as they might be poisonous or dangerous. According to me *Cēṭa*, *Sarpaśīrṣa* (Snake-head), *Mṛdura*, *Kravyāda* (Flesh-eater), *Manuṣyaśiras* (Man-head) are the *vikṛtā* or misshaped types of fishes.—*B. Ch. Chhabra*).

The *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* (XIV, 41-2) declares the following types of fishes as not to be eaten: Cēṭa, Gavaya, Śiśumāra, Nakra, Kulīra, misshaped ones (*vikṛta-rūpāḥ*) and Sarpaśīrṣa.

The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, which, in point of time, falls between the *Gautama* and the *Āpastamba*, on the other hand, singles out the types of fishes that may be eaten:

> *matsyāḥ sahasradaṁṣṭrāś=cilicimō varmi-bṛhacchirō-maśakari-rōhita-rājīvāḥ* [1]

'(And the following) fishes: *viz.*, the Silurus Pelorius (Sahasradaṁṣṭrā), the Cilicima, the Varmī, the Bṛhacchiras, the Maśakari (?), the Cyprinus Rōhita and the Rājīva.'[2]

The *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* has a verse (LXXX, 14) as emanating from the manes:

kālaśākaṁ mahāśalkaṁ
māṁsaṁ vārdhrīṇasasya ca |
viṣāṇa-varjā yē khaḍgās =
tāṁs = tu bhakṣyāmahē sadā ||

'(The pot-herb) Kālaśāka (sacred basil), (the prawn) Mahāśalka, and the flesh of the (crane called) Vārdhrīṇasa, (and of) a rhinoceros having no horn, is food which we always accept.'[3]

We have already noticed how the Mahāśalka fish is given a special importance in the *Manu Smṛti*, which, strange to say, in the context of lawful and forbidden food, makes a sweeping statement against the eating of all types of fish (V, 14-15):

bakaṁ c=aiva balākāṁ ca
kākōlaṁ khañjarīṭakam |
matsyādān viḍvarāhāṁś=ca
matsyān ēva ca sarvaśaḥ ||
yō yasya māṁsam aśnāti
sa tan-māṁsāda ucyatē |
matsyādaḥ sarva-māṁsādas=
tasmān matsyān vivarjayēt ||

'The Baka and the Balākā crane, the raven, the Khañjarīṭaka (wagtail), (animals) that eat fish, village-pigs, and all kind of fishes.' 'He who eats the flesh of any (animal) is called the eater of the flesh of that (particular creature), he who eats fish is an eater of every (kind of) flesh; let him therefore avoid fish.'[4]

This is followed by an equally strange statement (V, 16) wherein particular types of fish are declared exempt from the foregoing injunction, specially if used for offering to the gods or to the manes:

pāṭhīna-rōhitāv = ādyau
niyuktau havya-kavyayōḥ |
rājīvān siṁhatuṇḍāṁś = ca
saśalkāṁś = c = aiva sarvaśaḥ ||

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[1] *Praśna* I, *Adhyāya* 5, *Kaṇḍikā* 12, *sūtra* 8.

[2] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XIV, p. 185, where the following foot-note is also given by the translator: 'Cf. *Vasiṣṭha*, XIV, 41-42: The names are much corrupted in the manuscripts and for *Maśakari*, which I do not find in the dictionaries *Samaśakari* or *Samasakari* is also read. The Bṛhacchiras is probably the Indian Salmon, the Māhsir.' The difference in *Rāji* and *Rājīva* may also be noted. *Maśakari* is elsewhere corrupted as *Mahāśakari*.

[3] *S.B.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 249.

[4] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 171-2.

'(But the fish called) Pāṭhīna and (that called) Rōhita may be eaten, if used for offerings to the gods or to the manes; (one may eat) likewise Rājīvas, Siṁhatuṇḍas, and Saśalkas on all (occasions).'[1]

The latter half of the above verse is ambiguous and has therefore given rise to no end of controversy. The commentators differ in their views as to the applicability of the sanction accorded. Some hold that those fishes may be eaten only by the Brāhmaṇa invitees on ceremonial occasions, while the others assert that they can be eaten by one and all on all occasions.

The *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* ordains expiatory fasting for eating fish (*Ācārādhyāya*, *Prakaraṇa* VI, v. 175):

cāṣāṁś=ca rakta-pādāṁś=ca
saunaṁ vallūram=ēva ca |
matsyāṁś=ca kāmatō jagdhvā
s-ōpavāsas=tryahaṁ vasēt ||

'The blue jays and red-footed birds, the butcher's meat, and fishes, having eaten these on account of desire, let him fast for three days.'

However, further on, the same *Smṛti* mentions fish which are declared as fit for eating even by the *Brāhmaṇas*. (*Acārādhyāya*, *Prakaraṇa* VI, vv. 177, 178):

bhakṣyāḥ pañca-nakhāḥ sēdhā-
gōdhā-kacchapa-śallakāḥ |
śaśaś=ca matsyēṣv=api hi
siṁhatuṇḍaka-rōhitāḥ ||
tathā pāṭhīna-rājīva-
saśalkāś = ca dvijātibhiḥ ||

'Of the five-toed animals, the porcupine, the iguana-lizard, the tortoise, the hedge-hog and the hare: among fishes the Siṁhatuṇḍaka and the Rōhita.

'So also the Pāṭhīna and the Rājīva, the *sa-śalkas* may be eaten by the twice-born.'

RELIGIOUS INJUNCTIONS PERTAINING TO FISH AND CEREMONIAL FISHING

Some religious injunctions pertaining to fish are found in the *Sūtras*. In the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* we are told that a *snātaka-brāhmaṇa* is required to wash and touch fire if he eats food containing meat, fish or sesamum (*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, *Praśna* II, *Adhyāya* III, *Kaṇḍikā* 6, *sūtra* 2):

māṁsa-matsya-tila-saṁsṛṣṭa-prāśanē=
paupaspṛśya agnim=abhimṛśēt ||

'If he eats (food) containing meat, fish or sesamum, he shall (afterwards) wash and touch fire.'[2]

The *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* lays down a similar injunction against eating of fish, but some fish, *viz.*, the Pāṭhīna, the Rōhita, the Rājīva, the Siṁhatuṇḍaka and the Śakula fishes, are exempt from this interdict (*Adhyāya* LI, *sūtra* 21):

pāṭhīna-rōhita-rājīva-siṁhatuṇḍaka-śakula-varjaṁ
sarva-matsya-māṁs-āśanē trirātram=upavasēt |

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[1] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, p. 172.

[2] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XIV, p. 241.

'After having eaten unawares any sort of fish excepting the Pāṭhīna, Rōhita, Rājīva, Siṁhatuṇḍaka and Śakula fishes he must fast for three days.'[1]

An oblation of fish to the gods is prohibited in the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* (*Adhyāya* LXVI, *sūtra* 14):

pañcanakha-matsya-varāha-māṁsāni ca |

'(He must not make an oblation to the gods) of the flesh of five-toed animals, of fishes, of boars.'[2]

However, in later periods, fish offering to gods seems to have been considered proper, for the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* prescribes an oblation of fish, raw and cooked, when worship is offered to Gaṇapati. (*Ācārādhyāya*, *Prakaraṇa* XI, v. 287):

kṛt-ākṛtāṁs=taṇḍulāṁś ca=
palal-audanam=ēva ca |
matsyān=pakvāṁs=tath=aiv=āmān=
māṁsam=ētāvad=ēva ca ||

'Husked and unhusked rice mixed with the sesamum paste, fish, raw and cooked, as also raw and cooked flesh.'

Another injunction is in respect of the offering to be made in a religious ceremony called *iṣṭakā-hōma*. The flesh of the fish called Śatabali along with milk-porridge or soup is to be offered in this sacrifice. (*Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, *Praśna* II, *Adhyāya* 11, *sūtra* 54):

tathā matsyasya śatabalēḥ
kṣīrōdanēna vā sūpōdanēna vā |

We have noted above that the same fish Śatabali finds mention in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* as the one having the merit of satisfying the manes for three years if offered in *śrāddhas*.

Catching of fish as part of a religious ceremony is ordained in one of the *Gṛhyasūtras* which relate to domestic ceremonies. The *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* describes one such ceremony. On the fifth day after *garbhādhāna* the house-holder should stand knee-deep in the water of a tank and catch fish in his cloth and offer them to the cranes (*Praśna* I, *Adhyāya* 8, *sūtras* 6–8).

SIN ACCRUING FROM FISHING

The *Parāśara Smṛti* contains an interesting passage in which the fishing profession is considered sinful. It states that the sin which a fisherman incurs in the course of a year is incurred in a day by a farmer who ploughs with an iron ploughshare. Again, it is stated further on that the fisherman incurs the same sin as a hunter and fowler (*Adhyāya* II, vv. 8-9).

FISH PROTECTION

Of the *Sūtras* only the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* contains some laws intended to protect the fish. Killing of fish, even unintentionally, is to be atoned for by fasting and suitable penances. A killer or a stealer of fish is also required to pay a fine. Thus it says:

pakṣighātī matsyaghātī ca daśa-kārṣāpaṇān |

(*Adhyāya* V, *sūtra* 53.)

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[1] *S.B.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 164.

[2] *S.B.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 211.

'A killer of birds or of fish shall pay 10 Kārṣāpaṇas'[1]

sūtra-kārpāsa-gōmaya-guḍa-dadhi-kṣīra-takra-tṛṇa-lavaṇa-mṛd-bhasma-
pakṣi-matsya-ghṛta-taila-māṁsa-madhu-vaidala-vēṇu-mṛṇmaya-
lauha-bhāṇḍānām=apahartā mūlyāt triguṇaṁ daṇḍyaḥ |

(*Adhyaya* V, *sūtra* 83.)

'A stealer of thread, cotton, cowdung, sugar, sour milk, milk, butter-milk, grass, salt, clay, ashes, birds, fish, clarified butter, oil, meat, honey, basket, work, canes of bamboo, earthen-ware or iron pots, shall pay three times their value as fine.'[2]

gōdh-ōlūka-kāka-jhaṣa-vadhō tri-rātram=upavasēt |

(*Adhyāya* L, *sūtra* 32.)

'If a man has killed (unintentionally) an iguana, or an owl, or a crow, or a fish, he must fast for three days.'[3]

The *Manu Smṛti* has also similar laws for the protection of fish. Fish are not to be stolen or killed unnecessarily:

matsyānāṁ pakṣiṇāṁ c=aiva tailasya ca ghṛtasya ca |
māṁsasya madhunaś-c=aiva yac=c=ānyat paśu-saṁbhavam ||

(*Adhyāya* VIII, 328.)

'(For stealing) fish, birds, oil, clarified butter, meat, honey and other things that come from beasts, the fine (shall be) twice the value of the stolen article).'[4]

khar-āśv-ōṣṭra-mṛg-ēbhānām=
aj-āvika-vadhas=tadā |
saṁkarīkaraṇaṁ jñēyam
mīn-āhi-mahiṣasya ca ||—(*Adhyāya* XI, 69.)

'Killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, a sheep, a fish, a snake or a buffalo must be known to degrade (the offender) to a mixed caste.'[5]

Evidently the catching of fish is to be the exclusive avocation of particular communities owing to the social stigma attached to the occupation. The *Manu Smṛti* assigns this task to a particular mixed caste, the Niṣāda.

matsya-ghātō niṣādānām
tvaṣṭis=tv=āyōgavasya ca |
mēd-āndhra-cuñcu-madgūnām-
araṇya-paśu-hiṁsanam ||—(*Adhyāya* X, 48.)

'Killing fish to Niṣādas, carpenter's work to Ayōgava; to Medas, Andhras, Cuñcus and Madgus the slaughter of wild animals.'[6]

FISH FIGURING IN PROVERBS

The peculiar trait of fish, *viz.*, the big ones among them swallowing the smaller, is represented as a maxim (*nyāya*) termed the *mātsya-nyāya* (lit., the fish-maxim) and quoted in political philosophy as similar to the trait among people in whom the powerful subject the weak to suffering to prevent which a strong ruler is necessary. The *Manu Smṛti* alludes to this (*Adhyāya* VII, v. 20):

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[1] *S.B.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 30.

[2] *S.B.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 32.

[3] *S.B.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 160.

[4] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, p. 311.

[5] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, p. 444.

[6] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, p. 413.

yadi na praṇayēd=rājā
daṇḍaṁ daṇḍyēshv=atandritaḥ |
śūlē[1] *matsyān=iv=āpakṣyan=*
durbalān=balavattarāḥ ||

'If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spīt.'[2]

Another proverb based on the anatomy of fish, that its bones are harmful if swallowed unawares along with its flesh is given both in the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Nārada Smṛti*.

andhō matsyān=iv=āśnāti
sa naraḥ kaṇṭakaiḥ saha |
yō bhāṣatē=rtha-vaikalyam=
apratyakṣaṁ sabhāṁ gataḥ ||—(*Manu Smṛti*, VIII, 95.)

'That man, who in a court (of justice) gives an untrue account of a transaction (or asserts a fact) of which he was not an eye-witness, resembles a blind who swallows fish with bones.'[3]

The *Nārada Smṛti* draws upon the same metaphor to condemn false testimony given by witnesses in courts. It says (Introductory Chapter III, v. 14) that 'he who having entered the court delivers a strange opinion ignoring the true state of the case resembles the blind man who regardless swallows fish together with bones.'[4]

IDENTIFICATION OF FISHES

Chronology.—In assessing the scientific knowledge of the ancient Hindus as embodied in the *Sūtras* and the *Smṛtis*, it has to be realized that it has not yet been possible to assign a precise date to any of these works. The Chronology Committee[5] of the Symposium on 'History of Sciences in South Asia' assigned 600 B.C. to 200 B.C. as the age for the *Dharmasūtras* and 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. for *Manu Smṛti*. It will thus be seen that most of the works referred to here have been placed in the centuries immediately preceding Christ.

Identification of Fishes.—Among the references to fish given above, aquatic animals other than fish have also been mentioned. I shall divide them into a separate group for the table for identification.

TRUE FISHES

Śapharī.—*Gautama Dharmasūtra*, one of the earliest *Sūtras* (*c.* 600–400 B.C.) enjoins that this fish should never be refused when offered voluntarily. *Vāśiṣtha Dharmasūtra* (XIV, 12) also enjoins that this fish must be accepted even when offered by a person of the lowest caste. Sanskrit scholars have usually translated it as any small fish but fortunately in Bengal the name of this small fish has not changed during all these centuries, so it is easy to identify it. Its scientific name is *Puntius*

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[1] Kullūka, the commentator on *Manu Smṛti* states that *śūlē* is a mistake for *jalē*.
[2] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, p. 219.
[3] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, p. 270.
[6] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 39.
[5] *Proc. Nat. Inst. Sci. India*, Vol. XVIII, p. 331 (1952).

sophore Hamilton, a common and widely distributed Carp-minnow found in abundance in shallow ponds, ditches and channels.

Śapharī is a cheap variety of fish on account of its small size and is not one of the commercially important table fish. Why it was held in great esteem in the *Sūtras* was somewhat difficult for me to understand. Now I find that it is probably associated with ceremonial fishing (vide *supra*, p. 69). The *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* enjoins that on the fifth day after the *garbhādhāna* ceremony, the house-holder should stand knee-deep in water of a tank and catch fish with his cloth to feed the cranes.

Sapharī is still regarded as an auspicious fish in Bengal.

Śatabali.—The merits of this fish are given in *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, where it is stated that manes are satisfied for a very long period if Brahmins are fed on this fish. With other varieties of fish they remain satisfied for three years only. *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* enjoins that this fish should be offered at the *iṣṭakā-hōma*. Evidently this is a fish of high food value and greatly relished. The etymological meanings of its name provide a clue for its identification. *Śata* means hundred and *balī* may be *bhalli* meaning one having spikes (*bhalla*). If this analysis of the word is accepted, then the fish can be identified as *Mastacembelus armatus* (Lacépède)—a spiny-eel of large size and of great flavour and taste. It is a widely distributed species of shallow waters and marshy areas.

Mahāśalka.—There is little difficulty in identifying this fish, as the fishes with large scales are the famous hill-stream sporting fishes collectively known as Mahaseers. The commonest species is *Tor putitora* (Hamilton)—the Golden or the Himalayan Mahseer. This identification is confirmed by the fact that in *Manu Smṛti* (III, 268) this fish is defined by two characteristics, namely, it is eaten by hermits living in forests and secondly, if given to Brahmins, the manes remain satisfied for an endless time. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (X, 258–61) is also in agreement with the above. *Viṣṇu Smṛti* (LXXX, 14) regards this a fish that should always be accepted.

In Bengal, this fish is known as Mahāśol, which is nearer to the original Sanskrit form.

Cēṭa.—Both *Āpastamba* and *Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtras* have forbidden the eating of this fish, but I have not found it easy to identify it, as no Sanskrit dictionary associates this word with fish. The word *Cēṭa* means a servant. I venture to identify it as the *Mrigal* fish of Bengal, *Cirrhina mrigala* (Hamilton) for the following reasons:—

(i) Among Bengali proverbs the eating of *Mrigal* is forbidden as it may cause leprosy and other skin diseases.

(ii) In pond cultural practices, *Mrigal* is used as a scavenger fish on account of its foul feeding habit on the bottom debris, thus acting as a servant, so far as the cleanliness of a fish pond is concerned.

Sarpaśirṣa.—Snake-headed fishes are those of the family Ophicephalidae. There are several species of the genus *Ophicephalus* and some growing to a fairly large size and of being commercially important. They are carnivorous fishes, even showing cannibalistic tendencies at times. They are included among the forbidden fishes both in the *Āpastamba* and *Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtras*.

As a general rule, flesh-eating fishes are forbidden as human food in the *Sūtras* and the *Smṛtis*. For instance, *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* includes among forbidden fishes all *kravyādas* or flesh-eating fishes. Probably this category particularly refers to sharks which are very predaceous in habits.

Moreover, all mis-shapen fishes (*Āpastamba Dharamsūtra*: *yē c=ānyē vikṛtā yathā* and *Vāśiṣtha Dharmasūtra*: *Vikṛtā rūpāh*) are forbidden to be eaten. The likeness of the head scalation of these fishes to that of snakes may thus be another reason for its low value. High class Hindus do not eat these fishes even now.

Mṛdura.—*Mṛdura* = *Mṛdula* as *r* and *l* are often interchangeable in Sanskrit; it means soft and jelly-like. The name may refer to Bombay Duck, *Harpodon nehereus* (Hamilton), a jelly-like fish in the fresh condition or it may actually refer to Jelly-fishes, which are not true fishes. I am inclined to regard it as Bombay Duck.

Though Bombay Duck is a good eating fish when properly dried and processed, in the fresh condition it is not a table fish. For this reason probably and also for its ferocious-looking jaws, it is included among the forbidden fishes in *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*.

Manuṣyaśīrṣa.—A fish shaped like the head of a man could be a species of *Tetraodon*, comprised in a group of very poisonous fishes. It is a mis-shapen fish and for this reason it is forbidden as food. In *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, it is included among the category of forbidden fishes.

Sahasradaṁṣṭrā.—This fish is usually referred to by oriental scholars as one having a thousand grinders. I am now informed that 'grinders' is not used here in any zoological sense but is a synonym of teeth and in fact the term will be more appropriate if used for pointed teeth. I identify this fish as the well-known *bāchchā* fish, *Eutropiichthys vacha* (Hamilton). It has a large number of teeth both in its jaws and palate.

Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra includes it among the fishes that could be eaten. It is an excellent table fish.

Sri S. K. Saraswati informs me that in the Sanskrit Lexicons *Sahasradaṁṣṭrā* and *Pāṭhīna* are sometimes synonymous, though there are texts, like the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, etc., which distinguish the two. Both *Eutropiichthy* and *Wallago* are Siluroid fishes and both have a large number of teeth in their jaws and thus are likely to be confused. *Wallago* has lesser number of teeth, it is more common in the rivers, ponds and lakes of India and that is why this name occurs more commonly in the scriptures among high class food fishes. For these reasons, Paṭhīna is the more appropriate name for *Wallago*. According to Kṣīrasvāmin, this fish is called so because it can pierce its prey by means of its sharp teeth. So zoologically, the two fishes are quite different.

Cilicima.—Wilson defines it as 'A kind of sprat (*Clupea cultara*) or a kind of prawn'. It is included in the fish category in the *Amarakoṣa*, and a commentary on this work says that this fish increases *Vāyu*, *Pitta* and *Kapha*. The commentators further give different variations of the name, such as *Cilicīma*, *Cilimīna*, *Crichīma*, *Cilocimī*, *Cilocima*, etc. Though Clupeoid fishes are quite common in Indian waters, I have not so far come across many references to them in ancient literature. The famous *Hilsa* belongs to this group and ascends the Gaṅgā as high up as Agra and Delhi. I am inclined to regard *Cilicima* as the *Hilsa* fish, *Hilsa ilisha* (Hamilton).

Sri S. K. Saraswati has directed my attention to the fact that in *Amarakoṣa Cilicima* and *Nalamīna*[1] have been synonymized. Sri Pulin

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[1] Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra supplies the following note on *Naḍamīna* (*Nalamīna*):

Liṅgayasūri in his commentary, *Gurubālaprabōdhikā* on the *Amarakōṣa* explains the etymology of the words *Naḍamīna* and *Cilicima* as follows:

1. *naḍ-ākhye tṛṇe mīnaḥ naḍamīnah*

Bihari Chakravarti informs me that Sarvānanda (*c.* 12th century A.D.) in his commentary on *Amarakoṣa* synonymizes *Cilicima* with *Gaḍḍavālukā* which Dr. B. C. Law thinks to be the fish commonly known as *Vāliyā Glossogobius giuris* (Ham.) in Bengal. According to Bharata *Iñcāka* is a synonym of *Cilicima*, while the compiler of the *Śabdakalpadruma* identifies *Cilicima* with *Chyāng* (*Ophicephalus gachua* Ham.). In Bengal *Chyāng* and *Gaḍai* (cf. *Gaḍḍavālukā* of Sarvānanda) are synonymous. I have identified *Nalamīna* in my article on 'Fish in *Rāmāyaṇa*' as *Mastacembelus armatus* (Lacép.), which is also a good eating fish. I am unable to comment on this synonymy until I get the etymology of the word *Cilicima* fully explained by some Sanskrit scholar.

Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra includes it among fishes to be eaten.

Varmī.—A fish with an armour on its body. A number of Cat-fishes possess armour-like bones protecting their body but here reference seems to be made to *Rita rita* (Hamilton), a common food fish of northern India.

Dr. B. C. Law is inclined to identify *Varmī* with the serpent-like fish commonly known as *Vāmī* [*Mastacembelus armatus* (Lacép.)]. Monier Williams in his *Dictionary* synonymizes the Sanskrit name *Varmuṣā* with *Vāmīruṣā*.

Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra includes it among the fishes to be eaten.

Bṛhacchiras.—A fish with a large head. Some oriental scholars have identified it as Mahasir but we have already dealt with Mahasir under Mahāśalka above. Considering the size and weight of the head to the rest of the body, *Catla* is the fish with the largest head and I think reference is made to *Catla catla* (Hamilton) in this name.

Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra includes it among the fishes to be eaten.

Maśakarī.—*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* includes this fish among those listed as fit for eating. This name is not to be found in any of the dictionaries. It is believed that the names are corrupted in the manuscripts. The translator of the *Sacred Books of the East* (Vol. XIV, p. 185) states that *Samaśakarī* and *Samasakarī* have also been read for *Maśakarī*. Elsewhere *Maśakarī* is given as *Mahāśakarī*. In manuscripts *k* and *ph* can be very often confused, so it may be that *Mahāśakarī* is *Mahaśapharī* which will mean a large *Śapharī*. There are several large species of the genus *Puntius* and probably here reference is made to *Sawarn Puti*, *Puntius sarana* Hamilton, a valuable food fish.

Rohita.—This is the most famous freshwater carp of India which is still known by the same name in Bengal and has been scientifically christened as *Labeo rohita* (Hamilton). *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* includes it among fishes to be eaten. *Manu Smṛiti* permits of its being eaten after it has been offered to gods or to the manes. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* considers this fish fit to be eaten by the Brahmins. *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* also permits of its being eaten.

Rājīva.—One that moves in a formation and I think reference is here made to the habit of *Mugil corsula* (Hamilton) which moves in army-like formation keeping a part of the head out of water. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* includes it among fishes to be eaten and *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* also permits its use as food. *Manu Smṛti* permits of its being eaten on all

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2. *cīyatē līyatē cilicimaḥ*
   cīñ cayanē līṅ ślēshaṇē

1. That which moves about around a kind of grass called *naḍa*.
2. That which moves about in a lowly way (in water). Or that which always collects around and embraces the grass called *naḍa*? In this case *Naḍamīna* and *Cilicima* are one and the same.

occasions while *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* has no objection to its being eaten by the twice-born castes.

Sri S. K. Saraswati supplies the information that *Kṣīrasvāmī*, the commentator of the *Amarakoṣa*, explains *Rājīva* as a fish having streaks or stripes. The *Vīramitrodaya*, commenting on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, I. 178, also says that *Rājīva* is a fish with stripes and that it is known as *Rāyakhaṭ*.

Pāṭhīna.—This is also one of the most famous fishes in ancient Indian literature—*Wallago attu* (Bloch). *Manu Smṛti* permits of its being eaten after it has been offered to the gods or to the manes, thus giving it the same status as to *Rohita*. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* permits the twice-born to eat it and *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* also permits of its use as food.

Siṁhatuṇḍa or **Siṁhatuṇḍaka.**—Fish with the face of a tiger, *Bagarius bagarius* (Hamilton). This fish lives in heavy waters of hill streams in association with Mahasir. According to *Manu Smṛti*, it can be eaten on all occasions. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* considers it fit to be eaten by Brahmins, while *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* permits of its being eaten.

Saśalka.—Fishes with scales as a whole are permitted to be eaten on all occasions in *Manu Smṛti* while *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* permits twice-born to eat them. This will refer mostly to Carps, many kinds of which are found in the freshwaters of India as against scale-less Catfishes.

Śakula.—This is the *śal* or *śol* fish of Bengal *Opicephalus striatus* (Bloch). This is a snake-headed fish, eating of which is forbidden in *Āpastamba* and *Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtras*, but the eating of this particular species is permitted in *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra*.

Aquatic Animals other than Fishes

Gavaya.—One that resembles a cow. Among the aquatic animals such a definition can apply to Dugongs which are aquatic mammals and have mammalian features and feed their young on milk. Dugongs belong to the same group of animals as whales.

Its eating is forbidden in *Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*.

Śiśumāra.—The name *Śiśu* is still current in Bengal for the Gangetic Porpoise or Dolphin, *Platynista gangetica*. Its eating is forbidden in *Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*.

Nakra.—Usually synonymized with *Makara* Crocodile. Its eating is forbidden in *Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*.

Kulīra.—Usually synonymized with Crab. Its eating is forbidden in *Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*.

Conclusions

From what has been stated above, it can be safely concluded that during the period 600 B.C. to 200 A.D., fish was generally considered a valuable article of food among the Hindus, though certain species or kinds of fish, for one reason or another, were forbidden to be eaten. Among those regarded suitable for eating, there was a regular gradation in quality or value. For instance, *Mahāśalka* (*Tor putitora*) is assigned the highest rank, then come *Rōhita* (*Labeo rohita*), *Pāṭhīna* (*Wallago attu*), *Siṁhatuṇḍa* (*Bagarius bagarius*), *Śatabali* (*Mastacembelus armatus*), *Śapharī* (*Puntius sophore*), etc. The aquatic animals, that have been forbidden to be eaten, are well chosen, except for the Snake-headed fishes and the crabs, both of which provide wholesome food. The *Smṛtis* contain contradictory statements about the use of fish as food which shows the working of the social, religious and political influences by which taking of any kind of animal flesh became a taboo afterwards.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Through the kind financial assistance of Dr. B. C. Law, it was possible to engage the services of a Sanskrit scholar to collect all information from the *Sūtras* and the *Smṛtis* regarding fish and fisheries. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. Law for his generosity and encouragement. The work done so far has now attracted the attention of the National Institute of Sciences of India which had made a grant of Rs.2,500 for 1953 for employing Sanskrit Scholars to help me in these studies. It is hoped that several ancient Sanskrit works will be critically studied during 1953.

Sri M. Venkataramayya, Epigraphical Assistant, Ootacamund, helped me in collecting the material on which this article is based. My cousin, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra critically examined the material and sub-divided it into sections as they are presented here. My sincere thanks are due to these two scholars for their valuable assistance.

While identifying the fishes and preparing the article for the press, I received considerable help from Sri S. K. Saraswati, Librarian, Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Several Sanskrit scholars were requested to check up my identifications of fishes. Dr. B. C. Law and Dr. N. Dutt very kindly favoured me with their comments. I am greatly obliged to all these gentlemen for their help and suggestions.

SYSTEMATIC LIST OF FISHES REFERRED TO IN SŪTRAS AND SMṚTIS, WITH REFERENCES TO SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

Sanskrit Names		Scientific Names and References
		Family CLUPEIDAE: Indian Herrings.
Cilicima [1]	..	1. *Hilsa ilisha* (Hamilton). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 640, pl. CLXII, fig. 3 (1878).
		Family HARPODONTIDAE: Bombay Duck.
Mṛdura	..	2. *Harpodon nehereus* (Hamilton). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 505, pl. CXVIII, fig. 1 (1877).
		Family CYPRINIDAE: Carps.
Rōhita ..	..	3. *Labeo rohita* (Hamilton). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 538, pl. CXXVII, fig. 4 (1877).
Cēṭa ...	...	4. *Cirrhina mrigala* (Ham.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 547, pl. CXXIX, fig. 4 (1877).
Bṛhacchira	..	5. *Catla catla* (Hamilton). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 553, pl. CXXXIV, fig. 5 (1877).
Śapharī	..	6. *Puntius sophore* (Ham.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 566, pl. CXLIII, fig. 4 (1877).
Maśakarī	..	7. *Puntius sarana* (Ham.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 560, pl. CXXXVI, fig. 2 (1877).
Mahāśalka	..	8. *Tor putitora* (Ham.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 564, pl. CXXXVI, fig. 5; pl. CXL, fig. 1 (1877); see also Hora, *Journ. Bombay Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XLI, plate facing page 272 (1939).

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[1] Some commentators have identified this fish as *Glossogobius giuris* (Ham.) (Day, *Fish. India*, p. 294, pl. LXVII, fig. 1, 1876) or *Ophicephalus gachua* (Ham.) (Day, *Fish. India*, p. 367, 1876).

Sanskrit-Names	Scientific Names and References
	Family SILURIDAE: Sheat Fishes.
Pāṭhīna ..	9. *Wallago attu* (Bloch.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 479, pl. CXI, fig. 4 (1877); also Hora, *J.B.N.H. Soc.*, XLI, facing page 64 (1939).
	Family BAGRIDAE: Cat-fishes.
Varmī[1] ..	10. *Rita rita* (Ham.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 459, pl. CIII, figs. 1, 2 and pl. CIV, fig. 2 (1877).
	Family SISORIDAE: Hill Stream Cat-fishes.
Siṁhatuṇḍa ..	11. *Bagarius bagarius* (Ham.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 495, pl. CXV, fig. 3 (1877); also Hora, *J.B.N.H.Soc.*, XL, facing page 583 (1939).
	Family SCHILBEIDAE: Bachha Cat-fish.
Sahasradaṁṣṭrā ..	12. *Eutropiichthys vacha* (Ham.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 490, pl. CXIV, fig. 6 (1877); also see Hora, *J.B.N.H.Soc.*, XXXIX, facing page 431 (1937).
	Family MUGILIDAE: Mullets.
Rājīva	13. *Mugil corsula* (Ham.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 354, pl. LXXI, fig. 6 (1876); also see Hora, *J.B.N.H.Soc.*, XL, pp. 62–68 (1938).
Sarpaśīrṣa ..	Family OPHICEPHALIDAE: Snake Headed Fishes. For a general account, see Day, *Fish. India*, pp. 362–368 and pls. LXXVI–LXXVII (1876).
Śakula	14. *Ophicephalus striatus* (Bloch.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 366 (1876); see Hora, *J.A.S. Letters*, pl. XXI, fig. 3 (1951).
	Family MASTACEMBELLIDAE: Spiny eels.
Śatabali ..	15. *Mastacembelus armatus* (Lacép.). Day, *Fish. India*, p. 340, pl. LXXIII, fig. 2 (1876).
Manuṣyaśīrṣa. ..	Family TETRAODONTIDAE: Globe or Baloon Fishes. For a general account of these fishes, see Day, *Fish. India*, pp. 699–708, pls. CLXXX–CLXXXIII (1878). Probably the species referred to is *T. cutcutia* (Ham.) on plate CLXXXII, fig. 5.

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[1] Dr. B. C. Law thinks that *Varmī* is *Vāmī* of Bengal which is *Mastacembelus armatus* (Lacépède); Day, *Fish. India*, p. 340, pl. LXXIII, fig. 2 (1876).

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MAKHZAN-I-AFGHĀNI AND *TAWĀRIKH-Í-MAJLIS ĀRĀI* AND THEIR RELATIVE VALUE AS SOURCES OF HISTORY

By N. B. Roy, *Visva-Bharati*

The English version of *Makhzan-i-Afghāni*, ever since its publication by the Oriental Translation Committee, London, 1829, has been used by scholars as a fruitful source for the reconstruction of the history of the Afghans in India. But the internal evidence contained in the English translation, and the comparison of its contents with those of the Calcutta Asiatic Society MS. (No. 100 Ivanow's catalogue) and Sir Jadunāth Sarkar's copy of the Kapurthala MS. raises doubts as to both the authorship and the title of the work used by Dr. Bernhard Dorn. In the preface to his translation, he mentioned the existence of two copies of the work—one preserved in the East India House, entitled *Tārikh-i-Khān Jahān w Makhzan-i-Afghāni* and the other in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) entitled *Makhzan-i-Afghāni*. Explaining the general identity of their contents he said that the East India House copy 'corresponded in the early part, almost word for word, but afterwards does not enter into such details as our work does; and mostly leaves out the speeches which occur in the translated copy, while the Royal Asiatic Society copy, used by him " appeared to be a different and, in some parts, an abridged edition of the work of Niamatullah; when Ibrāhim Batani supplied the deficiencies from the original work of Niamatullah and other Histories." The translated copy thus became in his words 'generally much more minute in the history it relates, than any other work that treats on the same subject.'

The above views of Dr. Dorn have been accepted without reservation by noted orientalists like Charles Rieu and Hermann Ethé who have given the common appellation of *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* to the two different versions of the same work in their respective catalogues of Persian MSS.

As I took up lately the translation of the Calcutta Asiatic Society MS. (No. 100 of Ivanow's Catalogue) I noticed vital differences alike in the form of narration and contents especially on the reign of Sher Shah, between the English version of Dorn and the above MS. I then availed myself of another copy of this MS. preserved in Sir Jadunath's library and still another copy generously lent by Professor Sayyid Hasan Askari of Patna College, and consulted as well the Calcutta Asiatic Society MS. No. 101, and a copy of the Udaipur MS. secured from the scholarly prince Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau. Of these four versions Sir Jadunath's copy and the Calcutta Asiatic Society MS. (No. 100 and 101) are identical in content. The Udaipur copy, a condensed version of the same, gives but a fragmentary account[1] of Sher Shah's and Islam Shah's career, while the Patna MS. appears to be a copy of the Dorn's Persian original, not merely because the Persian text follows the English translation line by line but also because of the fact that there occurs at the end of the Patna MS. references to Ibrāhim Batani having compiled the work exactly in the same words as are mentioned in Dorn's copy. There are two copies corresponding to this Patna MS., one in the British Museum, Add 21,911, and another in the

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[1] It leaves out, for instance, all the episodes of Sher's career between the capture of Rhotas and the explosion at Kalinjar and summarily finishes Islam Shah's reign in a dozen lines.

India Office Library, No. 578. The latter bears in the colophon the title of *Tawārikh-i-Majlis Ārāi*, and again in folio 1, the title of *Majlis-Ārāi*, (Ethé I. 231).

It may be pertinent to ask why should the history especially designated *Tārikh-i-Majlis Ārāi* came to be called *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* and the work compiled by Ibrāhim Batani be ascribed to Ni'matullah. Such an apparent incongruity did not escape the notice of scholars like Rieu and Sir Henry Elliot; the former characterized the presence of the passage ascribing the compilation of the work to Ibrahim Batani, 'as the result of a strange inadvertence', while Sir Henry observed, 'It is curious to find such an entry in all known MS. of the *Makhzan* instead of the work for which it was intended' (*History of India*, V. 69). The passage at the end of the second book runs thus:

مصنف اصل این تاریخ شیرشاهی عباس سروانی است - چون بعض
مقدمه چنانچه احوال باز بهادر در واقعه کرانیان و تذکره لوحانیان و بعض
منقوله دیگر داخل درین تاریخ نبود، بنابران نقص می‌نمود - و درین ولا
احقر العباد ابراهیم باطنی انرا از تاریخ نظامی که در احوال 'شیر شاه
و اسلام شاه نوشته است - و بعض مقدمه از کتاب مخزن افاغنه که
از تصنیف نعمت الله سمانی است انتخاب نموده داخل این تاریخ کرده
باتمام رسانید *

which translated into English would be as follows:—

> 'The real author of this Tārikh-i-Sher Shahi is 'Abbas Sarwani but as certain chapters such as the affair of Baz Bahadur, the events under the Karranis, the history of the Lohāni and certain other episodes were not present in this work and as a consequence, it was deficient. This humble servant, Ibrahim Batni made selections from Tārikh-i-Niẓami, containing the history of Sher Shah and Islam Shah composed by himself and certain excerpts from the book Makhzan-i-Afghāni, composed by Ni'matullah (of Samanā, ?) and having incorporated them into this history (Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhi) brought it to a finish.'

Here is a clear statement of the work *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi* being recast and enlarged by Ibrāhim Batani, for which this work should better be called *Tawārikh-i-Majlis Ārāi*. Such a conclusion was reached by Sir Henry who wrote, 'These words (in the passage) are evidently applicable to some amended version of the *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi*, not as Dorn supposed to the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni*; for the most bare-faced plagiarist and book-maker would hardly assert that he had improved and completed a work by adding to it selections from its own pages.'

The above proposition is justified by the gross discrepancy in the accounts of the Calcutta Asiatic Society MSS. and the Patna MS. and the style of narration adopted in these two works. Take for instance a few important episodes of Sher Shah's life.

1. We take first the Dooli story, in other words, the circumstances by which Sher Shah captured the fortress of Rohtas by the stratagem of the covered litter. The Patna MS. (ff. 201–3) following 'Abbas Sarwani, declares it to be a lie, while in the Calcutta Asiatic Society copies, Sir Jadu-

nath's copy (f. 27) and Dr. Raghubir Singh's copy of Udaipur MS. (f. 41), it is stated to be a fact.

2. Again, the account of Sher having fallen ill at Bihar in course of his march from Agra to Bengal in 1542 A.D. and of his having vowed to redeem the honour of Islam by the extirpation of the *Kaffir* Puran Mal of Raisin, in case of his recovery which appears in both Abbas Sarwani and Ibrahim Batani's version is neither mentioned in Sir Jadunath's copy nor in the Calcutta Asiatic Society MS. of Ni'matullah who states, on the other hand, that Sher Shah stayed one full year at Agra in organizing his kingdom یک سال تمام در آگره سرانجام ملک ولایت هند نمود .

(3) The mediator between Sher and Humayun on the eve of the action at Chausa was Shaikh Khalil. His relationship with the two monarchs and rôle in negotiation is portrayed differently in the two versions. According to 'Abbas Sarwani and Ibrāhim Batani, the Shaikh Sahib was sent by Humayun, after the conclusion of terms, to persuade him 'to march back to Rohtas by regular stages and delay nowhere'. But Sher so artfully gained him over that he counselled him instead to draw the sword against Humayun, thus indirectly palliating the crime of violating the treaty. Ibrāhim Batani who reproduces the whole episode has added an additional flavour by recounting the many occasions when Humayun had planned to crush Sher, thus justifying Sher's treachery. Ni'matullah's version is entirely different. According to the Calcutta Asiatic Society MS. and Sir Jadunath's copy, Shaikh Khalil was the religious preceptor of Sher and was sent by him to negotiate the terms of peace which he succeeded in accomplishing.

4. The account of the battle of Kanauj is different in the two versions. 'Abbas Khan and Ibrāhim Batani offer the same sketch of actual fighting. Ni'matullah only accounts for Humayun's defeat by repeating what Niẓāmuddin says. Ibrāhim Batani here again discovers a divine sanction for the transfer of crown into Afghan hands by relating a vision said to have been seen by Sher in the night preceding the battle. According to him, (Patna MS. 253, Dorn Eng. tr. p. 127) an old man appeared before Sher in dream and taking him and Humayun by the hand, ushered them in the presence of the Prophet Muhammad who on being informed of the change of crown, blessed Sher by saying, 'May you not suffer anyone to be deprived of his rightful claims.' Ni'matullah, on the other hand, relates Sher having dreamt of a wrestle with Humayun.

On such matters as (5) Sher's position in the field on the occasion of fighting with Ibrahim Khan, the Bengal commander, (6) capture of Chitor and (7) improvization of a new technique of fortification in the desert in course of his march against the king of Marwar, the two versions do not concur. For instance, according to 'Abbas Khan and Ibrāhim Batani, this novel method of fortification with sand-bags was the invention of Sher's grandson Mahmud, who was then a tender stripling below his teens (*khurd sal*). According to Ni'matullah (Patna MS. 253), this was due to Sher Khan himself, as expressed in the following words: 'As Sher entered the sand-desert, he found it difficult to erect the circumvallation. By means of just reasoning, clear thinking and sound judgment, Sher filled the bags with sand, stacked them one upon another and made the circumvallation round the encampment' (Calcutta MS. 91*a*).

(8) The account of the capture of Chitor fort by Sher and the appointment of Khawas Khan's brother to its command are recorded in 'Abbas Khan and Ibrāhim Batani. There is no reference to such an event either in Ni'matullah or Ahmad Yādgār, author of *Tārikh-i-Salatīn-i-Afāghina*, according to whom Sher returned to Agra from Marwar (Asiatic Society

Text, 226). Abul-Fazl in *Akbarnāmah* (*Ibid.*, 196) only makes a vague statement as to his having hastened to the adjacent tracts of Chitor and Ranthambhor (*ba nuwāhi Chitor and Ranthāmbor shatāft*). The two accounts do not agree in respect of Sher's and Islam Shah's death. According to 'Abbas Khan and Ibrāhim Batani, Sher's death occurred on the 10th *Rabi* I, 952 A.H., and that of Islam Shah on the 26th *Zul-hijjah*, 961 A.H., while according to Ni'matullah, 26th *Zul-hijjah*, 960 A.H.

Another feature which distinguishes Ibrāhim Batani's version and, for the matter of that, 'Abbas Sarwani's[1] from that of Ni'matullah is the highly exaggerated tone of partisanship adopted by the former and the tendency to extenuate and explain away Sher's failings. I cite here a few illustrations in support of the contention. According to the first two chroniclers, Sher betrayed Sultan Mahmud Lodi in the battle near Lucknow by withdrawing with his force from the field of action. The *raison d'être* for this treachery and wickedness is explained thus: 'He (Sher) well knew that disunion prevailed through the whole army and that such troops had never gained victory over the enemy; that Mian Bein and Baizeed, though laborious and noble-minded men and having large forces under their command, were destitute of experience and had never meddled with political affairs; that Aazein Humayoon Servani and Othmar Serwani, both men of experience, had only of necessity entered upon the campaign from all which he might draw the inference that the whole enterprise would not prosper.' (Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, 102, Patna MS. 185–86). This calculated treachery is represented so innocuously that Sher is shown off as a shrewd and keen-witted politician. Ni'matullah, on the other hand, ascribes it to (i) Sher's chafing at the ascendancy and leadership of Biban and Bayazid; (ii) to his experience of the Mughal military system; (iii) and his insight and circumspection (A.S. MS. 82). Secondly, Sher's assumption of the charge of his jagirs is described in the following words by Ibrāhim Batani: 'My father having committed to my disposal the administration of your concerns, it is incumbent on me to pay all possible attention to population, agriculture, the welfare of the army as well as of the other tenants, in order that they may enjoy a state of tranquillity and comfort.' Then, after threatening the soldiery and the people present, he turned towards the tenants and said, 'The choice, today, rests entirely in your hands; and I shall, according to your wish, either divide the sown fields and assign them according to such measurement or if you prefer it I shall order an average estimate of them to be made and in conformity with the same, allot to each of you the due portion.' (Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, 82, Patna MS. 151-52). This is a harangue, passed off in such a way as to convey to us a sense of Sher having been entrusted with a mission. Ni'matullah *rejects* this as well as other melo-dramatic scenes, e.g. the last act in Sher's life-drama[2] which is set forth by Ibrāhim Batani thus: 'On a Friday in 952 A.H., Sher Shah took something to eat after which he assembled the Ulemas in the room and asked them what merit attached to fighting the *kaffirs*. Shaikh Niẓām and Shaikh Khalil replied that there existed no work that excelled the war and struggle against them and any one killing an infidel was a holy warrior but that he who lost his life became a martyr.' Sher then climbed up the scaffold and was wounded by the explosion of the bomb from which he died.

Such glorification of an otherwise crafty ruler who committed follies in youth (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. 18) and river dacoities with his following (*Waqi'at-i-*

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[1] Elliot calls this work a *biography, not a history*. *History of India*, IV, 302.

[2] Dr. K. R. Qanungo rightly assesses the value of this work by calling it a *Political drama*, though he qualifies this statement by saying that it was based to a great extent, upon authentic history. (*Sher Shah*, by Dr. K. R. Qanungo, 428.)

Mushtaqi, Brit. Mus. MS., f. 103[1] has tended to magnify him out of all proportion to his real stature and led a modern historian to make the highly exaggerated remark that 'He was the greatest of the Muslim rulers of India and was entirely free from and active in the correction of faults associated with his race.' (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, V. 55.)

From the above comparison made between the versions of Ibrahim Batani and Ni'matullah it would be apparent that the former has described Sher not as he was, but what he was pictured to be, by his nostalgic Afghan brethren during the period of their political eclipse. Ni'matullah, on the contrary, due to the advantages of education in the enlightened age of Akbar, his occupation first as librarian (داروغه کتب خانه) under Khān-i-Khānān Abdur Rahim, and then as historiographer (واقعهٔ نویس) under Jahangir was able to discriminate between fact and fiction and showed modern incredulity towards stories and miracles current in his time. Relating to the miracles of a lamp during Sultan Sikandar's reign, he concluded with the words: الله اعلم بحقیقة meaning that God knows the truth of it. He introduced stories with the words '*Manqul ast*' (It is said) and never aims at producing effect like Ibrahim Batani and 'Abbas Sarwani. He claims to have drawn from a mass of sources such as *Ṭārikh-i-Tabari*, *Majma-'ul-Ansāb*, *Matla-'ul-Anwār*, *Madan-i-Akhbar-i Ahmadi*, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, *Akbarnāma* and *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* though the events recorded and their order of succession show a general agreement with *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*. He wrote in a simple and unaffected style and put together his facts rather drily, in a brief and condensed form, without playing upon words and free of artificialities. بطریق اعجاز و اختصار خالی از تکلف مبرّا از عبارت آرائی (Calcutta Asiatic Society MS., f. 120a). As a consequence his narrative gains precedence over the *Tawarikh-i-Majlis Ārāi* of Ibrahim Batani as a source of history.

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[1] This important fact is indicated in a foot-note given in the new edition of 'Abbās Sarwāni's '*Sher Shah*' published by Sushil Gupta, Calcutta.

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THE VIDŪṢAKA IN SANSKRIT DRAMAS—HIS ORIGIN

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Among the various problems which confront a critical student of Sanskrit dramas the character of the Vidūṣaka is one for which no satisfactory explanation could be offered up to the present time. The Sanskrit rhetoricians do not throw any light on this difficult problem; and the attempt of some foreign scholars [1] to trace the origin of the Vidūṣaka to the Śūdra who is beaten or pelted with clods in the ceremony of Soma purchase for the Soma sacrifice or to the Brahmin student who holds an abusive dialogue with a hatæra in the Mahāvrata ceremony, is as much unconvincing as the imposing theory of his derivation from an imaginary degraded Brahmin of the hypothetical secular drama in Prakrit. The anomalies, which scholars find in the character of the Vidūṣaka but fail to explain and which are, as we shall see below, only apparent and not real, are due mostly to the hazy conception of the rhetoricians and dramatists about the original nature of this highly useful and interesting figure. As a matter of fact, these writers, being separated by centuries from the time and society in which the Sanskrit drama first came into being,[2] had no correct idea of the origin and nature of the Vidūṣaka, nor do they seem to have inherited any good tradition to that effect. Consequently, they looked upon the Vidūṣaka more or less as a conventional figure to be moulded and shaped according to their choice and often lowered him to the position of a ludicrous dullard. How the ignorance of these writers about the Vidūṣaka went on increasing with the progress of time will be evident from an examination of some of their works. But before we enter into a discussion of the problem of the Vidūṣaka's origin and take up the individual dramas for analysis, we shall see what the rhetoricians say about this highly interesting character.

In his *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which is taken to be the earliest of the extant works on Indian dramaturgy, Bharata mentions the Viṭa (parasite) and the Vidūṣaka (jester) on more occasions than one but is completely silent about the Pīṭhamarda known to other writers. According to him, the Viṭa is a sweet-tempered, courteous and clever person capable of seeing through the *pros* and *cons* of a matter and expert in serving courtesans (or, conversant with the usages of harlots—*veśyopacāra-kuśala*), and is a poet and an orator as well.[1] No mention has been made by Bharata of his caste, and his unholy association with courtesans and his mention in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* almost invariably with public women, servants (*dāsa, ceṭa*) and rogues (*dhūrta*)[2] show that in spite of his culture and refinement he is looked upon by Bharata as a low character whose association is not considered healthy and beneficial.

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[1] See A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* (Breslau, 1891–1902), Vol. I, pp. 69ff. A. B. Keith, *Śāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka with an Appendix on the Mahāvrata* (London, 1908), pp. 73ff. Sten Konow, *Das indische Drama* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 14ff. J. Huizinga, *De Vidūṣaka in het indisch Toonel* (Groningen, 1897), pp. 64ff. M. Schuyler, *The Origin of the Vidūṣaka*, in *JAOS*, XX, 1899, pp. 338–340. A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 23–25 and 49–52.

[2] The earliest Sanskrit drama, hitherto discovered, is the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa of the early Kuṣāṇa period. H. Lüders found the fragments of this work on palm-leaf in Central Asia and restored from them a few passages, for which see Lüders, *Das Śāriputra-prakaraṇa, ein Drama des Aśvaghoṣa*, in *Sitzungsberichte d Berliner Akad.*, 1911, pp. 388ff. From a study of these fragments we are convinced 'that the drama had already attained the literary form and technique which persist throughout its later course; and its fairly developed character suggests that it must have had a history behind it. This history, unfortunately, cannot be traced to-day, for the earlier specimens which might have enabled us to do so, appear to have perished in course of time'. See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* (published by the University of Calcutta, 1947), p. 43.

The earliest extant work on Sanskrit rhetorics and dramaturgy is Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* which, in its present form, does not seem to have been written earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.

The Vidūṣaka, on the other hand, is included by Bharata among the high characters and associated as a companion with all the four types of heroes, viz., Dhīroddhata (brave and haughty), Dhīralalita (brave and sportive), Dhīrodātta (brave and high-spirited) and Dhīrapraśānta (brave and serene).[3] He commands sufficient respect to be allowed to address a royal hero as 'friend' (*vayasya*) and to be addressed in the same way by the latter.[4] That in Bharata's eyes the Vidūṣaka is an important and sacred figure is evidenced by the latter's mention as a 'twice-born' man (*dvijanmā*—Brahmin)[5] as well as by the facts that he is not associated, like the Viṭa, with courtesans and that in giving an account of the arrangements made by Brahmā for the protection of the stage and the *dramatis personae* against the impediments created by the demons, individual mention is made of only three characters, viz., the hero, the heroine and the Vidūṣaka, the last one being said to have been protected by 'Oṃkāra',[6] a syllable which points to his Brahmanical origin and culture. Yet Bharata looks upon the Vidūṣaka primarily, if not absolutely, as a fun-maker who is to excite laughter by the queerness of his body, words and dress. In mentioning the peculiarities of his movement on the stage Bharata says:

'The Jester will have the same gait consisting of simple laughable steps with feet raised high [and put forward]. And his gait will relate to three kinds of laughter: laughter due to limbs, due to words, and due to costume and make-up. Of these the ugly and big teeth, baldness, hunch on the back, lameness, and distorted face will be objects of laughter due to limbs. When one walks like a crane looking up and looking down with wide strides, this too becomes an object of laughter due to limbs.

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[1] *Nāṭya-śāstra*, ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1894 (hereinafter referred to as 'Bombay ed.'), 24. 104 (= ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, hereinafter referred to as 'Benares ed.', 35. 55).

The edition of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, undertaken by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, is to consist of four volumes, of which only Vols. I and II, containing Chapters 1–18, have been published as yet. This edition will be referred to below as the 'Baroda ed.'

[2] See *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bombay ed. 18. 98 (= Benares ed. 20. 54 = Baroda ed. 18. 50); 18. 149 (= Benares ed. 20. 109 = Baroda ed.. 18. 105); 18. 154 (= Benares ed. 20. 114 = Baroda ed. 18. 110); 25. 76 (= Benares ed. 26. 72); and so on.

[3] *Ibid.*, Bombay ed. 24. 3–5 (= Benares ed. 34. 17–19).

In the line '*eteṣāṃ ca punar jñeyāś catvāro 'tha vidūṣakāḥ*' of verse 5 there seems to be a reference to the four kinds of Vidūṣakas mentioned in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Rāma-candra and Guṇa-candra (for which see below).

[4] *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Baroda ed. 17. 81-82 = Benares ed. 19. 17-18 = Bombay ed. 17. 80-81.

The text in the Bombay ed. is corrupt.

[5] *Ibid.*, Bombay ed. 24. 106–

vāmano danturaḥ kubjo dvijanmā vikṛtānanaḥ |
khalatiḥ piṅgalākṣaś ca sa vijñeyo vidūṣakaḥ ||

For this verse see Benares ed. 35. 57 (v. 1. '*dvijihvo*' for '*dvijanmā*').

[6] *Ibid.*, Bombay ed. 1. 63–

nāyakaṃ rakṣatīndras tu nāyikām tu sarasvatī |
vidūṣakam athoṃkāraḥ śeṣās tu prakṛtīr haraḥ ||

For this verse see Benares ed. 1. 97b-98a and Baroda ed. 1. 96b-97a.

'Talking incoherently, meaninglessly, unnaturally and uttering obscene [1] words are to be known as [objects of] laughter due to words.

'A person covered with tattered clothes or skin or smeared with ink (or lamp-black), ashes or yellow ochre is [an object of] laughter due to costume and make-up. *Hence [the Jester], after considering the characters [he will be confronting], should carefully (lit. essentially) assume [one or more of] these states.*

'The gait of the Jester should be *distinguished according to his different conditions.* [For example], in his natural gait he is to carry the Kuṭilaka (*kuṭila*) [2] in his left hand and to show the Catura (gesture) with the right hand. Besides this he is to lower by turns one of his sides, head, hands and feet observing proper tempo and Tāla. The gait other than this which is natural, will be abnormal. His gait on having some food which was difficult to get, will be arrested.' [3]

Mention has been made on other occasions also of the Vidūṣaka's comic features, viz., his short stature, projecting teeth, hunched back, distorted face, bald head, tawny eyes, irrelevant talks, etc.,[4] but nowhere in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* has he been called a 'Narma-saciva', 'Narma-suhṛd' or 'Kāma-saciva'—terms very familiar to the later writers, nor has he been associated, directly or indirectly, with the hero's amorous sports. The only verse [5] in which the word '*narman*' has been used in connection with the Vidūṣaka, is one of obscure meaning and probably also of doubtful authenticity, and in this verse even, the word '*narman*' does not appear to mean anything more than mere jest or humour.

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[1] For the reading '*aślīla-bhāṣaṇaiḥ*' of the Benares and Baroda editions of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, the Bombay ed. (12. 124) has '*vātula-bhāṣitaiḥ*'.

Śāradātanaya, who, in his *Bhāva-prakāśana*, closely follows the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, says that the Vidūṣaka of a king should be '*agrāmyaparihāsaka*', 'vulgar speech' (*aślīla-vāktva*) being meant for the Vidūṣakas of ministers and others.

[2] The word '*kuṭila*' means the 'crooked staff' carried by the Vidūṣaka.

For mention of the Vidūṣaka's 'crooked staff' see Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act IV (*Nipuṇikā.—edam accāhidaṃ | bhuaṅga-bhīluaṃ bahmabandhuṃ imiṇā bhuaṅga-kuḍilena daṇḍa-kaṭṭheṇa tambhantaridā bhīsemi*), Harṣavardhana's *Ratnāvalī*, Act II (wherein the Vidūṣaka is about to strike down the parrot 'with his staff which was crooked like the heart of a wicked person'—*pisuṇa-jaṇa-hiaa-kuḍileṇa daṇḍa-kaṭṭheṇa*), and Śudraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act I (*Vidūṣakaḥ.—tā ediṇā amhārisa-jaṇa-bhāadhea-kuḍileṇa daṇḍa-kaṭṭheṇa . . . . . . matthaaṃ de pahārehiṃ kuṭṭaissaṃ*).

[3] *Nāṭya-śāstra* (translated into English by Manomohan Ghosh and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1951), XIII, 137–146. The translation, given by Prof. Ghosh, is based on the text reconstructed by Joanny Grosset in his critical edition of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (Chapters I–XIV) published in Paris, 1898.

(The italics used in the quoted extract are mine.)

For the corresponding verses see Bombay ed. 12. 121–128, Benares ed. 13. 136–144, and Baroda ed. 12. 137b–146a.

The text given by the Bombay ed. is hopelessly corrupt.

[4] See *Nāṭya-śāstra* (Bombay ed.) 24. 106 (quoted in footnote 5 on p. 86 above).

21. 126—*vidūṣakasya khali(la)tiḥ syāt kākapadam eva vā* (= Benares ed. 23. 148 —*vidūṣakasya kartavyaṃ khalli kākapadaṃ tathā*), in which the word '*kākapada*' means 'a small tuft of hair measuring the foot of a crow';

5. 125—*vidūṣakas try-eka-padāṃ sūtradhāra-smitāvahām* |
asaṃbandha-kathā-prāyāṃ kuryāt kathanikāṃ tataḥ ||
[= Benares ed. 5. 137 (v. 1. '*vidūṣakas tv eka-padāṃ*' and '*kathanikāṃ tathā*') = Baroda ed. 5. 139 (v. 1. '*vidūṣakas tv eka-padāṃ*')];

35. 25—*pratyutpanna-pratibho narma-kṛtā narma-garbha-nirbhedaiḥ* |
cheda-vibhūṣita-vadano vidūṣako nāma vijñeyaḥ ||
(= Benares ed. 35. 71—v. 1. '*prakṛty-utpanna-pratibho*', '°*garbha-nirbhedyaḥ*' and '*yas tu vibhūṣita-vacano*').

[5] *Nāṭya-śāstra* (Bombay ed.) 35. 25, for which see the immediately preceding footnote.

Bharata was fully conscious of the fact that successful fun-making is never possible with a fool. So, his Vidūṣaka is a highly intelligent and shrewd man having the capacity of seeing through things and adapting himself readily to circumstances. This is evidenced by the Vidūṣaka's showing the Catura gesture[1] in his natural gait, by the word '*praty-utpanna-pratibha*' (ready-witted) used with respect to him in a verse referred to above, and by the direction that he is to regulate suitably his gait according to the nature of the characters he has to face.[2]

In spite of the mention of the Vidūṣaka as a 'twice-born'[3] man and a high character, he does not seem to have been placed by Bharata in the same rank as that of the other high characters. He is to speak a Prakrit dialect called Prācyā and not Sanskrit; he is sometimes reckoned with the Ceṭa (servant), Viṭa, Dhūrta, Śakāra and other low characters, when, in connection with the peculiarities in dress, appearance, etc., the different characters are mentioned in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*;[4] and the comic sentiment, for which he is specially meant, is, according to Bharata, 'mostly to be seen in women and persons of the inferior type'. In explaining the comic sentiment Bharata says:

'Now the comic (*hāsya*) sentiment has as its basis the dominant emotion of laughter. This is created by determinants such as showing unseemly dress or ornament, impudence, greediness, quarrel, defective limb, use of irrelevant words, mentioning of different faults, and similar other things. This (the comic sentiment) is to be represented on the stage by consequents like the throbbing of the lips, the nose and the cheek, opening the eyes wide or contracting them, perspiration, colour of the face, and taking hold of the sides. Transitory states in it are indolence, dissimulation, drowsiness, sleep, dreaming, insomnia, envy and the like.

……………………………………………

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[1] For mention of 'Catura' as one of the twenty-four gestures of single hands see *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bombay ed. 9. 6 (= Benares ed. 9. 6 = Baroda ed. 9. 6).

This 'Catura' gesture has been described by Bharata as follows:

'Catura is that [gesture] in which the four fingers are stretched and the thumb is bent near the middle finger.

'It is applied in representing *policy*, discipline, penance, *cleverness*, a young girl, a sick person, spirit, deceit, proper words, welfare, truth and tranquillity.

'By one or two such hands moved round should be represented openness, deliberation, moving, conjecture and shame.

……………………………………………

'Besides these, the Catura hand is to indicate *sports*, love, brilliance, memory, intelligence, judgment, forgiveness, nutrition, consciousness, hope, affection, reasoning, union, purity, cleverness, favourableness, softness, happiness, character, question, livelihood, propriety, dress, soft grass, a small quantity, wealth, defeat, sexual intercourse, merit and demerit, youth, home, wife and various colours.'

Manomohan Ghosh's English translation of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, IX, 92–98. (I have made slight changes in the first sentence to make the translation more literal. The italics are mine.)

For the corresponding verses see *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bombay ed. 9. 89–95 (= Benares ed. 9. 87–93 = Baroda ed. 9. 93–99).

[2] *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bombay ed. 12. 125–

tasmāt tu prakṛtiṃ jñātvā bhāvaṃ kāryaṃ ca tattvataḥ |
gati-pracāraṃ vibhajen nānāvasthāntarātmakam ||

For this verse see also Benares ed. 13. 141 (v. 1. '*bhāvaḥ kāryas tu*') and Baroda ed. 12. 142b-143a.

[3] The word '*dvi-janmā*' shows that the Vidūṣaka was not a Vrātya but a full-fledged Brahmin having the Upanayana-saṃskāra performed in due time.

[4] See *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bombay ed. 24. 104–107 (= Benares ed. 35. 55–58), 17. 49–51 (= Benares ed. 18. 36b–39a = Baroda ed. 17. 50–52), and 21. 126 (= Benares ed. 23. 148).

'As this makes persons laugh by means of uncouth behaviour, words, movement of the limbs, and strange dress, it is known as the Comic Sentiment.

'*This sentiment is mostly to be seen in women and persons of the inferior type*, . . .'[1]

Thus, the Vidūṣaka of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* is a composite figure having not only some traits of a high character but also a few of the peculiarities of a person of inferior type. He is meant primarily, if not exclusively, for introducing comic elements in a drama, and his active association as a guide in the hero's love-makings has been given little or no importance.

Bharata was followed by a large number of writers on poetics and dramaturgy, of whom Rudraṭa flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.D. In his *Kāvyālaṃkāra* Rudraṭa mentions a class of associates of the hero called 'Narma-saciva', who are to have the following qualifications: to be devoted to the hero, to keep his plans secret, *to know his mind* (*cittajña*), to be expert in jests and sports, and to be guileless, dexterous, eloquent and shrewd.[2] Of the three kinds of Narma-sacivas mentioned by him, the first is said to be the Pīṭhamarda who is as much qualified as the hero himself and is his follower; next comes the Viṭa who knows a part of the arts (*eka-deśa-vidyaḥ*); and the third is the Vidūṣaka who very often jests (or, is mostly playful—*krīḍanīyaka-prāyaḥ*), has the requisite qualifications for his job, is illiterate, and creates laughter by his appearance, dress and words. According to Rudraṭa, the Vidūṣaka is inferior to the Pīṭhamarda and the Viṭa and is primarily a harmless associate of the hero in his amorous and other sports, the comic elements in his character being secondary.

The present *Agni-purāṇa*, which was written about 900 A.D., agrees with Rudraṭa in mentioning the Narma-sacivas and classifying them into Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka in the same order as in Rudraṭa's work, but it definitely connects these Narma-sacivas with the amorous activities of the hero, saying:

'The Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka—these three are the advisory associates of the hero in his amours and are subordinate to him.'[3]

The special characteristics of these Narma-sacivas have been enumerated by the Purāṇa in an obscure verse:

pīṭhamardaḥ saṃbalakaḥ śrīmāṃs tad-veśajo viṭaḥ |
vidūṣako vaihasiko . . . . ||[4]

in which the Vidūṣaka has been described as a creator of laughter. So, this Purāṇa views the Vidūṣaka first as an associate of the hero in his love-makings, and next, though not much less markedly, as a fun-maker.

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[1] *Nāṭya-śāstra* (translated into English by M. M. Ghosh), VI, 47–51 (p. 110). For the corresponding verses see Bombay ed. 6. 49–51, Benares ed. 6. 49–51 and Baroda ed. 6. 56–60.
(The italics used in the quoted extract are mine.)

[2] Ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay (*Kāvya-mālā*, No. 2), 12. 13–15—

bhaktaḥ saṃvṛta-mantro narmaṇi nipuṇaḥ śuciḥ paṭur vāgmī |
cittajñaḥ pratibhāvāṃs tasya bhaven narma-sacivas tu ||
tri-vidhaḥ sa pīṭhamardaḥ prathamo 'tha viṭo vidūṣakas tad-anu |
nāyaka-guṇa-yukto 'tha ca tad-anucaraḥ pīṭhamardo 'tra ||
viṭa eka-deśa-vidyo vidūṣakaḥ krīḍanīyaka-prāyaḥ |
nija-guṇa-yukto mūrkho hāsakarākāra-veṣa-vacāḥ ||

[3] *Agni-purāṇa* (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1314 B.S.), 339. 38—

pīṭhamardo viṭaś caiva vidūṣaka iti trayaḥ |
śṛṅgāre narma-sacivā nāyakasyānunāyakāḥ ||

[4] *Ibid.*, 339. 39.

According to Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka* (*circa* 1000 A.D.) a hero in love has three followers (*anucara*): Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka, whose special characteristics are given by Dhanañjaya as follows:

'The Hero of the Episode (*patākā*) is a separate person, [called] Attendant (*pīṭhamarda*), intelligent, assisting him [i.e. the principal Hero], devoted [to him], and possessed of his qualities in a less degree.

'Another [companion] is the Parasite (*viṭa*), who has but a single accomplishment, and the Jester (*vidūṣaka*), who is the fun-maker.' [1]

Thus, to Dhanañjaya also, the Vidūṣaka is first a helper in the hero's amorous activities and then a comic figure.

In his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, which was composed between 1030 and 1050 A.D., Bhojadeva goes a step further and classes the Pīṭhamarda, Vidūṣaka and Viṭa with the Śakāra, Lalaka [2] and Ceṭa, declaring them all to be 'low characters' (*hīna-pātra*).[3] According to him the Vidūṣaka is a sportive fun-maker and a confidante of the hero, whereas the Viṭa is a qualified and respectable person with a wife and with wealth exhausted by enjoyment.[4]

In their *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, which was written with a commentary most probably between 1100 and 1175 A.D., Rāma-candra and Guṇa-candra also, like Bhojadeva, class the Vidūṣaka and the Viṭa with the Śakāra and the servants (*kiṃkara*) and call them 'low' (*nīca*) characters,[5] whom they describe as mean, wicked, slanderous, lazy, treacherous, *quarrelsome*, cowardly, effeminate, harsh in talks, and idiotic.[6] They, however, assign the first place to the Vidūṣaka and say:

'Among these [low characters] the first, who is the Vidūṣaka, is meant for (creating) laughter. And laughter is of three kinds according to the queerness of limbs, dress and words. Of these, laughter due to limbs is [caused] by baldness, lameness, big and awkward teeth, distorted face, etc.; laughter due to dress is [created] by putting on an extremely broad piece of cloth, by looking up and down during movement, and so on; and laughter due to words is [caused] by irrelevant, meaningless and vulgar talks, etc.'[1]

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[1] *patākā-nāyakas tv anyaḥ pīṭhamardo vicakṣaṇaḥ |*
tasyaivānucaro bhaktaḥ kiṃcid ūnaś ca tad-guṇaiḥ ||
eka-vidyo viṭaś cānyo hāsyakṛc ca vidūṣakaḥ |

Daśarūpa (ed. George C. O. Haas, New York, 1912), pp. 44-45 (2. 8-9a).

[2] This character is very rarely to be found in Sanskrit dramatic literature. As a matter of fact, I do not know any Sanskrit drama or any work on the dramatic science, except the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, in which this character occurs.

[3] See *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1894) 5. 595–601—

hīna-pātreṣu śakāro . . . . . lalako . . . . . amātyādir āsanārhaḥ pāṣaṇḍādir vā pīṭhamardaḥ . . . . . vaihāsikaḥ krīḍanako viśvāsyaś ca vidūṣakaḥ . . . . . mānyaḥ kalatravān bhukta-vibhavo guṇavān viṭaḥ . . . . . dhātreyakādiś ceṭo . . . . . |

Also 5. 121—

hīna-pātrāṇi śeṣāṇi pīṭhamardo vidūṣakaḥ |
viṭa-ceṭau patākāś ca sakhyaś caiṣāṃ parigrahaḥ ||

[4] For the relevant lines see the immediately preceding foot-note.

[5] *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, Vol. I (ed. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1929), 4. 167—

nīcā vidūṣaka-klīva-śakāra-viṭa-kiṃkarāḥ |
hāsyāyādyo nṛpe śyālaḥ śakāras tv eka-vid viṭaḥ ||

[6] *Ibid.*, 4. 158—

. . . . . nīcaḥ pāpīyān piśuno 'lasaḥ |
kṛtaghnaḥ kalahī klīvaḥ strī-lolo rukṣa-vāg jaḍaḥ ||

Rāma-candra and Guṇa-candra further distinguish between the 'different types' of Vidūṣakas suitable for the different types of heroes (viz., Dhīroddhata, Dhīrodātta, Dhīralalita and Dhīraśānta) separated from their beloved[2] and explain the name and function of the Vidūṣaka thus:

'The Vidūṣakas are [so called] because they greatly spoil or terminate the union [of lovers] with [love-] quarrel and their [love-] quarrel with union, but make [the heroes] forget [the pangs of] separation by yielding diversions.'[3]

Thus, to Rāma-candra and Guṇa-candra also the Vidūṣaka is a low character taking an active part in the hero's amorous activities and serving as a fun-maker. But he is certainly not a fool, though foolishness is given by them as one of the features of low characters, because it is impossible for a fool to be able to unite or separate the lovers according to his choice or to divert a hero suffering from the pangs of separation from his beloved.

In his *Bhāva-prakāśana*, which was written between 1175 and 1250 A.D., Śāradātanaya distinguishes between three classes of advisers (Sacivas) to the hero, viz., Dharma-sacivas, Artha-sacivas and Kāma-sacivas (also called Narma-sacivas), the last being concerned with the hero's amorous activities (*śṛṅgārāpekṣayā*).[4] The Kāma-sacivas are said to be the Pīṭhamarda, the Viṭa and the Vidūṣaka, whose peculiar features are given by Śāradātanaya as follows: The Pīṭhamarda gives instructions to the hero by taking his seat on a special stool in front of the latter, is trustworthy, and pacifies the offended females loved by the hero;[5] the Viṭa is learned in a particular branch of knowledge, has proficiency in the science of love, is sweet-tempered, courteous, bent on exerting influence on others, eloquent, clever, thoroughly conversant with the usages of courtesans, and capable of considering the *pros* and *cons* of a matter, speaks in Prakrit, and has various perversions;[6] and the Vidūṣaka creates laughter by means of his queer limbs, words and dress, yields diversions, is ready-witted, bald-headed, tawny-eyed, brown-bearded, and proficient in jests (*narman*) as well as in the practice of their four varieties, knows the [*Nāṭya*-] Veda, and is a dancer.[1] Regarding the Vidūṣaka, Śāradātanaya further says that he has one of the following names—Vātsyāyana, Śākalya, Maudgalya, Vasantaka, Gālava, etc.,[2] is unsteady by nature, quarrelsome, conscious of his duties, always fond of eating, conversant with the distinction between the tongues of all, and learned, ridicules everybody, and speaks the truth as well as lies.[3] Śāradātanaya next characterizes the four kinds of Vidūṣakas attached to the four types of heroes thus: The Vidūṣaka of a god is truthful, knows the past, present and future as well as what he has to do and what not, can consider the *pros* and *cons* of all matters and describe things as he sees them, has thorough knowledge of histrionics, and is a fun-maker; the Vidūṣaka of a king is a fun-maker without being vulgar (*agrāmya-parihāsaka*), is pure (*śuddha*) with regard to money and women, is loved by the attendants of the chief queen, creates jealous quarrels (*īrṣyā-kalaha-kārī*), always moves in the harem, is conversant with amorous sports, can pacify to a certain extent the chief queen offended in love-affairs, and creates or destroys the love and union between the king and his lady-loves; the Vidūṣaka of a minister and others utters obscene words (*aślīla-vāk*), discloses the faults of a couple, is fond of taking both prescribed and forbidden food, and so on; and the Vidūṣaka of a merchant is a knave, has ugly dress and deformed limbs, speaks and jests awkwardly, and do similar other acts.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 4. 167— . . . . . *tatrādyo vidūṣako hāsyanimittaṃ bhavati | hāsyaṃ cāsyāṅga-nepathya-vaco-vikārāt tredhā | tatrāṅga-hāsyaṃ khalati-khañja-dantura-vikṛtānanatvādinā | nepathya-hāsyam atyāyatāmbaratvollokita-vilokita-gamanādinā | vaco-hāsyaṃ asambaddhānarthakāślīla-bhāṣaṇādinā bhavati* | . . . .

[2] *Ibid.*, 4. 168—*atha dhīroddhatādīnāṃ netṝṇāṃ pratyekaṃ vidūṣakān āha—*

snigdhā dhīroddhatādīnāṃ yathaucityaṃ viyoginām |
liṅgī dvijo rāja-jīvī śiṣyāś caite vidūṣakāḥ ||

[3] *Ibid.*, 4. 168—*sandhiṃ vigraheṇa vigrahaṃ sandhinā ca viśeṣeṇa dūṣayanti vināśayanti, vipralambhaṃ tu vinoda-dānena vismārayantīti vidūṣakāḥ* |

[4] *Bhāva-prakāśana* (ed. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLV, Baroda, 1930), pp. 93-94 (Adhikāra 4).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 94 (Adhikāra 4)—

pīṭham adhyāsya purataḥ prayoktā nāyakādiṣu |
sa pīṭhamardo viśvāsyaḥ kupita-strī-prasādakaḥ ||

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 94 (Adhikāra 4)—*eka-vidyo viṭas tasya kāma-tantreṣu kauśalam.* Also p. 289 (Adhikāra 10)—

viṭaś ca kāma-sācivya-karaṇen-opayujyate |
. . . .
veśy-opacāra-kuśalo madhuro dakṣiṇaḥ kaviḥ |
pratipatti-paro vāgmī caturaś ca viṭo mataḥ ||
. . . .
viṭaḥ prākṛta-vādī ca prāyo bahu-vikāravān ||

and p. 242 (Adhikāra 8)—

veś-opacāra-kuśalo madhuro dakṣiṇaḥ kaviḥ |
ūhāpoha-kṣamo vāgmī caturasro viṭo mataḥ ||

From what Śāradātanaya says about the Vidūṣaka it is evident that he looks upon the latter as a very intelligent, and sometimes learned, man concerned with the hero's amorous sports and taking to fun-making as a means to the successful discharge of his duties. He is sometimes found to be vulgar in speech, but his vulgarity is not unrestricted with regard to the suitability of place and occasion.

In Sāgaranandin's *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa*,[5] which must be dated earlier than 1431 A.D.,[6] the Vidūṣaka is described as a king's friend and companion who moves in the harems and is his counsellor in amorous sports, the Viṭa is a king's friend with regard to courtesans, and the Pīṭhamarda is an instructor in the usages prevailing in the residences of public women.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 94 (Adhikāra 4)—*vikṛt-āṅga-vaco-veṣair hāsyakṛt syād vidūṣakaḥ*. Also p. 289 (Adhikāra 10)—

vidūṣako 'pi sarvatra vinodeṣūpayujyate |
. . . .
tadātvapratibho narma-caturbheda-prayoga-vit |
veda-vin narma-vedī yo netuḥ sa syād vidūṣakaḥ ||
khalatiḥ piṅgalākṣaś ca hāsyānūka-vibhūṣitaḥ |
piṅga-keśo hari-śmaśrur nartakaś ca vidūṣakaḥ ||

For the Vidūṣaka's knowledge of dancing, though comic, see *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bombay ed. 12. 127 (= Benares ed. 13. 143 = Baroda ed. 12. 45b-46a—v. l. *cāpi hastaṃ caraṇam eva ca* | *paryāyataḥ sannamayel laya-tāla-vaśānugam* ||).

[2] These names show that Śāradātanaya's Vidūṣaka is a Brahmin.

[3] *Bhāva-prakāśana*, p. 277 (Adhikāra 9)—

svabhāva-capalo netuḥ priyāyāḥ kalaha-priyaḥ |
dakṣiṇaḥ kārya-vic caiva sarvadā bhojana-priyaḥ ||
sarva-bhāṣā-vikalpajñaḥ sarveṣāṃ parihāsakaḥ |
satyāsatya-vaco-vaktā paṇḍitaḥ syād vidūṣakaḥ ||

[4] *Ibid*., pp. 281-282 (Adhikāra 9).

[5] Ed. M. Dillon, Vol. I, Text (Oxford, 1937), p. 92, lines 2199–2202—

vayasyakaḥ sahacaraḥ sa eva ca vidūṣakaḥ |
antaḥpura-caro rājñāṃ narmāmātyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ ||
veśyāṃ prati sakhā rājño viṭa ity abhidhīyate |
tad-vṛtt-ācāryakaṃ prāptaḥ pīṭhamardaḥ prakīrtitaḥ ||

[6] See M. Dillon's Preface to his edition of the *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa*. Also P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 280–288.

Bhānu-bhaṭṭa, who wrote his *Rasa-mañjarī* sometime about the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D., speaks of four kinds of Narma-sacivas attached to the hero in love, viz., Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa, Ceṭa and Vidūṣaka, and characterizes them as follows:—

'The Pīṭhamarda is the pacifier of the enraged females [loved by the hero]; the Viṭa is proficient in the science of love and in the arts; the Ceṭaka (servant) is clever in [bringing about the] union [of the lovers]; and the Vidūṣaka is the creator of laughter by the queerness of his limbs, etc.'[1]

Bhānu-bhaṭṭa's mention and description of the Narma-sacivas show that he considers the Vidūṣaka to be a low character attached to the hero mainly for helping him in his amorous sports.

In Śiṅga-bhūpāla's *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, a work of unknown date, the Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa, Ceṭa and Vidūṣaka have been mentioned as 'helpers' to the heroes in love.[2] About the peculiarities of these helpers, Śiṅga-bhūpāla says that the Pīṭhamarda is a devoted follower of the hero, is slightly inferior to him in respect of qualifications, and is the pacifier of enraged females, the Viṭa is conversant with the science of love and the arts, the Ceṭa is expert in bringing about the union of lovers, and the Vidūṣaka creates laughter by his uncouth limbs, words and dress.[3] Thus, Śiṅga-bhūpāla regards the Vidūṣaka as a low character who is mainly a helper to the hero in his love pursuits and whose fun-making is meant chiefly for this function.

In his *Pratāparudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa*, which was written in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., Vidyānātha mentions the Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa, Ceṭa and Vidūṣaka as helpers (*sahāyāḥ*) to the passionate heroes in making the heroines favourable to them and says that the Pīṭhamarda is slightly inferior to the hero to whom he is attached, the Viṭa is the master of one of the sciences, the Ceṭa is expert in bringing about the union of lovers, and the Vidūṣaka is the creator of laughter.[4]

Viśvanātha Kavirāja, who wrote his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* between 1300 and 1384 A.D., includes the Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka among the 'helpers' (*sahāya*) of the hero but makes the distinction that the

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[1] *Rasa-mañjarī* (ed. Benares Sanskrit Series, 1904), p. 227—
teṣāṃ narma-sacivaḥ pīṭhamarda-viṭa-ceṭaka-vidūṣaka-bhedāc caturdhā | *kupita-strī-prasādakaḥ pīṭhamardaḥ* | . . . . . *kāmatantra-kalā-kovido viṭaḥ* | . . . . . *saṃdhāna-caturaś ceṭakaḥ* | . . . . . *aṅgādi-vaikṛtyair hāsyakārī vidūṣakaḥ* |

[2] *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1916), 1. 89—

atha śṛṅgāra-netṝṇāṃ sāhāyya-karaṇ-ocitāḥ |
nirūpyante piṭhamarda-viṭa-ceṭa-vidūṣakāḥ ||

[3] *Ibid.*, 1. 90–92—
tatra pīṭhamardaḥ—

nāyakānucaro bhaktaḥ kiṃcid ūnas tu tad-guṇaiḥ |
pīthamarda iti khyātaḥ kupita-strī-prasādakaḥ ||
kāmatantra-kalā-vedī viṭa ity abhidhīyate |
saṃdhāna-kuśalaś cetaḥ kalahaṃsādiko mataḥ ||
vikṛtāṅga-vaco-veṣair hāsya-kārī vidūṣakaḥ ||

[4] *Pratāparudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* (ed. Kamalāśaṅkara Prāṇaśaṅkara Trivedī, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. LXV, 1909), 11. 40—

eṣāṃ nāyikānukūlane pīṭhamarda-viṭa-ceṭa-vidūṣakāḥ sahāyāḥ |
kiṃcid ūnaḥ pīṭhamarda eka-vidyo viṭaḥ smṛtaḥ |
saṃdhāna-kuṣalaś ceṭo hāsya-prāyo (v. 1. *hāsyakārī*) *vidūṣakaḥ* ||

Pīṭhamarda is a high character and a general helper of the hero in relevant and far-reaching matters, whereas the Viṭa and the Vidūṣaka are medium characters and help the hero in his love-affairs (*śṛṅgāra-viṣaye sahāyāḥ*).[1] Regarding the qualifications of the Pīṭhamarda and others Viśvanatha says:

'That helper of him in his far-reaching and relevant matters who is slightly lacking in his qualifications, is named Pīṭhamarda.

. . . .

'The Viṭa, Ceṭa, Vidūṣaka and others, who are to be his helpers in love-affairs (*śṛṅgāra*), should be devoted to him, be expert in making jests, be able to allay the pride of offended loves, and be pure.

. . . .

'But the Viṭa has his fortune exhausted by enjoyment, is a gambler, knows a part of the arts, is conversant with the usages prevailing in the residences of courtesans (*veśyopacāra-kuśala*), eloquent and sweet-tempered, and is much respected in clubs.

. . . .

'The Vidūṣaka has the name of a flower, the spring season, etc., creates laughter by his action, [corpulent] body, dress, words, etc., takes delight in quarrelling, and is conscious of his duties, which are eating, etc.'[2]

Much more interesting is the information supplied by Vāgbhaṭa, a writer of the fourteenth century A.D., who, in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*, makes the Narma-saciva a distinct character like the Pīṭhamarda and others and says:

'The Narma-saciva, Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka are the followers of the hero. Of these, the Narma-saciva pacifies the offended females [loved by the hero]; the Pīṭhamarda has the qualifications of the hero and is a follower [of the latter]; the Viṭa is learned in a particular branch of science; and the Vidūṣaka is mostly a jester.'[3]

The above accounts of the Vidūṣaka, collected from different sources, clearly indicate that he is a Brahmin of high respectability, being entitled to address even a royal hero as 'friend' (*vayasya*) and to be addressed similarly by the latter; that he is originally a cultured, fairly educated and highly intelligent fun-maker having the power of psychological study of a person and little or no connection with the hero's amorous activities; and that with the progress of time he came to be associated more and more as an adviser to the hero in love-affairs and to be lowered from his respectable position. His mention as '*hāsyakṛt*', '*hāsyakārin*' or '*hāsyakara*', '*vaiha-sika*' or '*vaihāsika*', and '*narma-saciva*' or '*kāma-saciva*', and his association with a royal hero as a 'friend' (*vayasya*) and 'counsellor' (*saciva*) definitely connect him with the royal assembly as one of its respectable members and throw a flood of light on the problem of his origin. But what was the necessity of a fun-maker in a royal assembly which was a place of administrative and other serious activities? Here the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and the *Nīti-sāra* of Kāmandaka come to our help. In Chapters 52-53 of the Uttara-kāṇḍa of the former work we are told that after returning from Laṅkā Rāma lived with Sītā at Ayodhyā in perfect peace and happiness for many years. Once, after the expiry of the winter season, Rāma entered the harem in the afternoon and met Sītā there. He was extremely glad to find his wife endowed with the signs of first conception, and asked her whether she felt any longing for anything. Sītā expressed her desire to see the holy penance-forests and the hermits living on the banks of the Ganges and to reside there at least for a night. Rāma readily agreed to fulfil her wish on the following day and came out to the 'middle chamber' surrounded by his 'friends' (*suhṛd-vṛtaḥ*). 'He took his seat there, and the jesters (lit. "creators of laughter"—*hāsyakārāḥ*), [named] Vijaya, Madhumatta, Kāśyapa, Maṅgala, Kula, Surāji, Kāliya, Bhadra, Dantavaktra and Sumāgadha, who were skilled in talks of various nature, attended upon him on all sides. Being extremely hilarious they narrated to the high-souled Rāghava various kinds of humorous stories (*kathāḥ ....parihāsa-samanvitāḥ*), in the course of one of which Rāghava said [to one of them]: "What conversations, O Bhadra, are going on in the town and the districts? What do the townspeople and the country-folk say about myself, Sītā, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, Śatrughna and mother Kekayī? Kings [, failing in their duties,] become objects of censure in the forest as well as in the kingdom." '[1] Thus requested by Rāma, Bhadra reported to him the happy conversations of the people concerning the great fame he had earned by his victory over Rāvaṇa. But Rāma was not satisfied with this. He assured complete safety to Bhadra and urged him to report everything, favourable or unfavourable, without reservation, so that he might be able to do beneficial acts and shun what was otherwise. Consequently, Bhadra said that though the people praised Rāma for his extraordinary exploits in connection with the recovery of Sītā, they widely complained against his conduct thus: 'After killing Rāvaṇa in war and rescuing Sītā, Rāghava brought her to his own house by leaving off jealous anger. What sort of pleasure issuing from enjoyment of Sītā can he have in his heart by placing on his lap one who was formerly seized by Rāvaṇa per force? How is it that Rāma does not censure (Sītā) who was taken even to Laṅkā, placed in the little wood of Aśoka trees and controlled by the Rākṣasas? We shall have to tolerate [similar conduct] in [the case of] our wives also, because the subjects follow what the king does.'[2] Rāma was very much afflicted in mind by Bhadra's report, and, to be sure of its truth, asked the opinion of all his 'friends' (*suhṛdaḥ*) there. They agreed with Bhadra, and Rāma was in a pitiable condition. He then sent away all his 'friends' (*vayasyān*) and made arrangements for banishing Sītā.

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[1] *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (ed. P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1923) 3. 39–42 and 46 (*uttamāḥ pīṭhamardādyā madhyau viṭa-vidūṣakau*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 3. 39–42—

dūrānuvartini syāt tasya prāsaṅgiketivṛtte ca |
kiṃcid-guṇa-hīnaḥ sahāya evāsya pīṭhamardākhyaḥ ||

. . . .

atha śṛṅgāra-viṣaye sahāyāḥ—

śṛṅgāre 'sya sahāyā viṭa-ceṭa-vidūṣakādyāḥ syuḥ |
bhaktā narmasu nipuṇāḥ kupita-vadhū-māna-bhañjanāḥ śuddhāḥ ||

. . . .

saṃbhoga-hīna-saṃpad viṭas tu dhūrtaḥ kalaikadeśajñaḥ |
veśyopacāra-kuśalo vāgmī madhuro 'tha bahumato goṣṭhyām ||

. . . .

kusuma-vasant-ādy-abhidhaḥ karma-vapur-veṣa-bhāṣādyaiḥ |
hāsyakaraḥ kulaha-ratir vidūṣakaḥ syāt svakarmajñaḥ ||

svakarma bhojanādi |

[3] *Kāvyānuśāsana* (ed. Kāvya-mālā, No. 43, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1894), p. 62 (Chapter 5)—*nāyakasya ca narmasaciva-pīṭhamarda-viṭa-vidūṣakā anucarāḥ| tatra kupita-strī-prasādako narma-sacivaḥ | nāyaka-guṇa-yuktas tad-anucaraḥ pīṭhamardaḥ | eka-vidyo viṭaḥ | krīḍanaka-prāyo vidūṣakaḥ |*

From the above story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn (i) that in early times a king had around him a body of jesters (*hāsyakāra*) who were looked upon by their royal patron as friends (*suhṛd, vayasya*) and who, as the names given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* indicate,[1] came from different strata of the society including Brahmins, (ii) that these jesters were highly clever, and also perhaps educated,[2] persons who were to study the mind and activities of the people and to report their observations to their patron, so that he might carry on a successful administration and also protect himself from his enemies, (iii) that they gave relief to their patron according to his necessity by diverting and amusing him with various kinds of humorous talks and stories, and (iv) that these jesters were members of the Pariṣad[3] and different from the ministers (*amātya*). The name 'Dantavaktra' of a jester of Rāma seems to point to his physical deformity, and one Vijaya is reckoned in *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 72. 26 as one of Rāma's Sacivas.

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa* (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta) vii. 53. 1–6.

[2] *Ibid.*, vii. 53. 16–19.

The information supplied by the *Rāmāyaṇa* is supported to a great extent by the Kāmandakīya *Nīti-sāra*,[4] which, in dealing with the conduct of a king's dependants (*anujīvi-vṛtti*) in an assembly, says: 'They must not say anything unpleasant to the king's jesters (*narma-saciva*), because the latter strike [people] in the inmost parts [of their mind and thereby bring out the secrets lying therein] even by means of loud laughter (*prahāsa*) in the midst of an assembly.'[5] Elsewhere Kānandaka says: 'When a king becomes careless in drinking parties, societies of women, and clubs of gamblers, [his dependants] surrounding him should open his eyes by the Nāḍikā and other means. Because, those [attendants] who neglect a king who is about to fall a prey to evil deeds, sustain defeat with him, lacking in self-control as they are.'[6] So, according to Kāmandaka a king had a band of companions called Narma-sacivas, who attended him in the assembly as well as outside it, saw to his personal safety by studying, through laughters and jests, the psychology of those who approached him for some reason or other, and were also perhaps to give salutary advice to him in his amusements and amorous pastimes.[7] The Narma-sacivas of

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[1] For instance, 'Kāśyapa' is clearly a name of a Brahmin, and 'Vijaya' is that of a 'Kṣatriya'; 'Sumāgadha' may be the name of one belonging to the Māgadha caste.

[2] The description of the Hāsyakāras as '*vicakṣaṇāḥ*' and Rāma's address to them as 'friends' show that they could not be illiterate.

[3] Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii. 57. 11—

śrutvā pariṣado madhye hy apavādaṃ sudāruṇam |
pure janapade caiva tvat-kṛte janakātmaje ||, etc.

(Spoken by Lakṣmaṇa to Sītā in explaining the cause of her banishment.)

[4] According to A. B. Keith the date of the Kāmandakīya *Nīti-sāra* 'may be c. 700, though others have put it contemporaneous with Varāhamihira'.—(Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 463.)

From a close comparison of the *Nīti-sāra* and the works of Kālidāsa P. V. Kane has come to the conclusion that the *Nīti-sāra* 'must be older than the 7th century A.D.'—(See Kane in *Indian Antiquary*, XL, 1911, p. 236).

[5] *Nīti-sāra* (ed. with Śaṃkarācārya's Commentary by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1912), 5. 20—

na narma-sacivaiḥ sārdhaṃ kiṃcid apy apriyaṃ vadet |
te hi marmaṇy abhighnanti prahāsenaiva saṃsadi ||

[6] *Ibid.*, 5. 51-52—

pāna-strī-dyūta-goṣṭhīṣu rājānam abhitaścarāḥ |
bodhayeyuḥ pramādyantam upāyair nāḍikādibhiḥ ||
rājānaṃ ye hy upekṣante sajjamānaṃ vikarmasu |
te gacchanty akṛtātmānaḥ saha tena parābhavam ||

[7] See also Yaśodhara's commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra*, in which Yaśodhara says about the Vidūṣaka:

'*sa ca veśyāṃ nāgarakaṃ kvacit pramādyantaṃ labdha-praṇayatvād apavadate iti vidūṣakaḥ |* '

Kāmandaka, therefore, must be the same as the Hāsyakāras of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The word '*prahāsa*' (loud laughter), used in the *Nīti-sāra* in connection with the Narma-sacivas, partially explains why the Vidūṣaka a Narma-saciva, came generally to be known as 'Vaihasika' or 'Vaihāsika' also.

That the Narma-sacivas of a king could originally have nothing to do as active helpers in his amorous pastimes, seems to be indicated by Kauṭilya also, who, in his *Artha-śāstra*, prescribes a life of strict discipline to a king and does not allow any scope to him for pursuit of Kāma beyond the limit in which it does not harm Dharma and Artha.[1] It is remarkable that Kauṭilya does not mention any associate of the king called Narma-saciva, Narma-suhṛd or Hāsyakāra, but he says: '[The king] should place as bounds [of propriety] his teachers and ministers who should keep him from falling a prey to dangers and strike him by means of a goad in the form of [measurement of time by] Nālikā and shadow, when he becomes careless even in secret.'[2] Elsewhere, in connection with the duties of an appointed Saciva or other officer, Kauṭilya says: 'He should follow (the king when) addicted to hunting, gambling, wine and women. Remaining close (to him) with (words of) praise, (he) should endeavour to destroy his vices (*vyasana*), and save him (all this time) from the intrigues, plots and deceptions of enemies. (He) should also observe his gestures and appearance, because, for maintaining the secrecy of (their) counsel (clever men) practise, by means of gestures and appearance, the reverse of love, hatred, pleasure, sorrow, determination, fear, and the pairs (of opposite feelings).'[3]

We do not know definitely which language the Hāsyakāras of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the Narma-sacivas of the Kāmandakīya *Nīti-sāra* spoke. It is highly probable that in order to hide their education and intelligence from new-comers in the royal assembly and to be able to mix freely with the people outside it they spoke some form of Prakrit rather than Sanskrit which would at once give out their education and culture.

Much more interesting information is supplied by Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra*[4] in which the ideal of city-life has been held up and an attractive picture of the life of a Nāgaraka, a city-bred man of fashion, has been given on the basis of the much older works of Bābhravya, Dattaka, and others. According to Vātsyāyana, a Nāgaraka has around him a band of 'friends' and companions of different castes and professions including the Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka.[5] These last-mentioned three persons seem to be more intimate with the Nāgaraka than the rest, as it is with them only that after his mid-day meal he enjoys diversions in matters concerning love.[1]

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[1] *Artha-śāstra* (ed. R. Shama Sastry, 1924), i. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, v. 5 (p. 252). For the clear exposition of this passage of Kauṭilya see *Daśa-kumāra-carita*, Ucchvāsa viii, wherein Candrapālita brings destruction upon Anantavarman, king of Vidarbha, by encouraging him in his vices (*vyasana*), viz., *mṛgayā* (hunting), *dyūta* (gambling), *uttamāṅganopabhoga* (enjoyment of high-class women), and *pāna* (drinking of wine), and thus making him an object of '*paropajāpa*' (intrigues of enemies), etc.

[4] H. C. Chakladar has thoroughly examined the question of date of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* and come to the conclusion that this work 'was composed about the middle of the third century A.C.'—See Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India* (published by the Greater India Society, Calcutta, 1929), pp. 1–40.

[5] *Kāma-sūtra* (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1334 B.S.) i. 5. 37—*rajaka-nāpita-mālākāra-gandhika-saurika-bhikṣuka-gopāla-tāmbūlika-sauvarṇika-pīṭhamarda-viṭa-vidūṣak-ādayo mitrāṇi*

See also iv. 1. 8-9 quoted in foot-note 3 on p. 98 below.

As to the characteristics and functions of the Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka Vātsyāyana says: [2] 'A Pīṭhamarda is one who is bereft of fortune, has merely his body [left as an asset], carries with him as his only belongings a [peculiar seat called] Mallikā, [some kind of] soap [called Phenaka] and dark-red clothes (kaṣāya), is come from a respectable place, is highly proficient in the arts, and establishes himself [as a professor] by giving instructions in these [arts] in a club as well as in the mode of life befitting a residence of courtesans. But a Viṭa is one who has exhausted his fortune by enjoyment, is qualified, has his wife [with him], commands high respect in residences of courtesans and in public clubs, and lives on these. But one, who knows a part of the arts and is a jester and confidential friend [to a Nāgaraka or a courtesan] is a Vidūṣaka or Vaihāsika. These [people] are counsellors to the courtesans and Nāgarakas and are engaged [by the latter] in peace and war [of love].' So, the Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka attached themselves, for maintenance as well as the pleasures of city-life, not only to wealthy Nāgarakas but also to courtesans and served their patrons as counsellors (*mantriṇaḥ*) in peace and war of love. The courtesans often used these helpers as well as others to gain new lovers, to dissociate old lovers from other women, to make good the pecuniary loss undergone by themselves, and to save their own selves from the torture to be made to them by their lovers.[3] Sometimes they engaged the Vaihāsika (i.e. Vidūṣaka) and others to know the mental attitude (*bhāva-jijñāsārtham*) of a lover and to gather various other information about him, and then, under favourable circumstances, used the Viṭa and the Pīthamarda respectively to create a feeling of love in him and to bring him to her own house;[1] and sometimes they influenced the Pīthamarda and other assistants of a previously discarded Nāgaraka by offer of money and used them in winning over him by misrepresenting facts.[2] The *Daśa-kumāra-carita* tells us that mothers of courtesans often had their wards' appearance, conduct, accomplishments, beauty and amiableness favourably discussed in the circles of Nāgarakas by the Pīthamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, i. 4. 21—*bhojanānantaraṃ śuka-sārikā-pralāpana-vyāpārā lāvaka-kukkuṭa-meṣa-yuddhāni tās tāś ca kalā-krīḍāḥ pīṭhamarda-viṭa-vidūṣakāyattā vyāpārā divā śayyā ca* |

(In his commentary on the *Kāma-sūtra* Yaśodhara explains the words '*pīṭhamarda-viṭa-vidūṣakāyattā vyāpārāḥ*' as follows: '*pīṭhamardādīṇ vakṣyati* | *teṣv āyattā vyāpārāḥ sandhi-vigrah-ādayaḥ* | ')

See also Vīrabhadradeva's *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi* (a late work written in Vikramābda 1633) i. 4. 22-23—

śuka-sārikā-pralāpanam atha yuddhaṃ meṣa-kukkuṭa-prabhṛteḥ |
anyāś cāpi viracayet krīḍāḥ kalayā yathā-yogam ||
viṭa-pīṭhamarda-niyatān vyāpārāṃs tān vidūṣakasyātha |
divase śayyā ca tathā syād aparāhṇe vihāro 'tha ||

[2] *Kāma-sūtra* i. 4. 45–48—

avibhavas tu śarīra-mātro mallikā-phenaka-kaṣāya-mātra-paricchadaḥ pūjyād deśād āgataḥ kalāsu vicakṣaṇas tad-upadeśena goṣṭhyāṃ veśocite ca vṛtte sādhayed ātmānam iti pīṭhamardaḥ |

bhukta-vibhavas tu guṇavān sa-kalatro veśe goṣṭhyāṃ ca bahumatas tad-upajīvī ca viṭaḥ |

eka-deśa-vidyas tu krīḍanako viśvāsyaś ca vidūṣako vaihāsiko vā |

ete veśyānāṃ nāgarakānāṃ ca mantriṇaḥ sandhi-vigraha-niyuktāḥ |

See also Vīrabhadradeva's *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*, i. 4. 49–53—

vibhava-hīno vidyāṃ jānan nija-deha-mātra-sāhāyyaḥ |
pūjoddeśāt prāptaḥ phenaka-mukha-saṃyutaś caiva ||
nipuṇaḥ kalāsu kathitais tasyātmānaṃ prasādayed yas tu |
goṣṭhyāṃ veśe ca tathā jānīyāt pīṭhamardaṃ tam ||
bhoga-samāpita-vibhavas tatratyaḥ sa-guṇa-vallabha-sahitaḥ |
bahu-saṃmataś ca veśe goṣṭhyāṃ vaśago viṭaḥ proktaḥ ||
yas tv eka-deśa-vidyaḥ krīḍanako bhūri-jāta-viśvāsaḥ |
sa syād vidūṣakaḥ kila vaihāsika-saṃjñakaś caiva ||
ete veśyānām iha nagara-sadāṃ caiva mantriṇaḥ kathitāḥ |
saṃdhau vigraha-kṛtye viniyuktā ādareṇaiva ||

[3] *Kāma-sūtra* iv. 1. 8-9—

yair nāyakam āvarjayed anyābhyaś cāvacchindyād ātmanaś cānarthaṃ pratikuryād arthaṃ ca sādhayen na ca gamyaiḥ paribhūyeta tān sahāyān kuryāt |

te tv ārakṣaka-puruṣā dharmādhikaraṇasthā daivajñā vikrāntā śūrāḥ samāna-vidyāḥ kalā-grāhiṇaḥ pīṭhamarda-viṭa-vidūṣaka-mālākāra-gandhika-śauṇḍika-rajaka-nāpita-bhikṣukās te ca te ca kārya-yogāt |

Thus, according to Vātsyāyana the Vidūṣaka, also called Vaihāsika (Fun-maker), sometimes served a courtesan as one of her attendants[4] and was not only a counsellor to her but also an active helper in her profession. Even when attached to a Nāgaraka he sometimes allowed himself to be bribed by courtesans for misleading his patron. So, in spite of his partial knowledge of some of the arts he could not but be looked upon as a low person. In the eyes of a Nāgaraka and a courtesan he was inferior to the Pīthamarda and the Viṭa.

Vātsyāyana does not tell us anything about the language which the Vidūṣaka spoke or the caste to which he belonged. From Vātśyāyana's statement that one was not highly esteemed in clubs by speaking exclusively in Ṣanskrit or in a popular language,[5] it seems highly probable that the Vidūṣaka, who was much inferior to the Nāgaraka, and even to the Pīthamarda and the Viṭa, in respect of education and culture, spoke a popular dialect, which must have been some form of Prakrit. As to his caste we are not sure that he was a Brahmin, but there are evidences to show that Brahmins sometimes associated themselves with public women for the sake of pecuniary gain or served as go-betweens in love-affairs, masking their trade under the cloak of religion. In the Bengal recension of the *Padma-purāṇa*, Svarga-khaṇḍa, Chapter 3, king Duṣyanta is found to reproach Śakuntalā saying: 'Many are the harlots roaming about here for the gratification of their sexual passion. Who [, among them,] does not wish to become the queen of a king of kings? There are [also] various types of Brahmins who, being favoured by these [harlots], move about with them under the guise of hermits and enjoy the huge fortunes earned by [these] harlots.'[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, iv. 1. 22–25—

bhāva-jijñāsārthaṃ paricāraka-mukhān saṃvāhaka-gāyana-vaihāsikān gamye tadbhaktān vā praṇidadhyāt | tad-abhāve pīṭhamardādīn |

tebhyo nāyakasya śaucāśaucaṃ rāgāparāgau saktāsaktatāṃ dānādāne ca vidyāt |
saṃbhāvitena ca saha viṭa-purogāṃ prītiṃ yojayet |

lāvaka-kukkuṭa-meṣa-yuddha-śuka-sārikā-pralāpana-prekṣaṇaka-kalā-vyapadeśena pīṭhamardo nāyakaṃ tasyā udavasitam ānayet |

[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 4. 32–34—

tasya pīṭhamardādayo mātur dauḥśilena nāyikāyāḥ saty apy anurāge vivaśāyāḥ pūrvaṃ niṣkāśanaṃ varṇayeyuḥ |

vartamānena cākāmāyāḥ saṃsargaṃ vidveṣaṃ ca |
tasyāś ca sābhijñānaiḥ pūrvānurāgair enaṃ pratyāyayeyuḥ |

[3] Ed. M. R. Kale (Bombay, 1925), pp. 66-67 (Ucchvāsa ii)—

eṣa hi gaṇikā-matur adhikāro yad duhituḥ . . . . . pīṭhamarda-viṭa-vidūṣakair bhikṣukyādibhiś ca nāgarika-puruṣa-samavāyeṣu rūpa-śīla-śilpa-saundarya-mādhurya-prastāvanā, ...

[4] Cf. *Kāma-sūtra* iv. 1. 22 quoted in foot-note 1 above.

[5] *Ibid.*, i. 4. 51—

nātyantaṃ saṃskṛtenaiva nātyantaṃ deśa-bhāṣayā |
kathāṃ goṣṭhīṣu kathayañlloke bahumato bhavet ||

From what has been said above it will be evident that the Vidūṣaka of Sanskrit rhetoricians is a composite character made up of the characteristics, more or less, of two different persons. He was originally the respected, cultured, fairly educated and highly intelligent but innocent Brahmin jester (*hāsyakāra* or *narma-saciva*) of the royal assembly who ensured the personal safety of the king and helped his administration by a psychological study of people and also diverted and amused him with talks and humour according to necessity; but with the increase of the influence of the ideal life of a Nāgaraka of the Kāma-śāstra on kings and others,[2] he imbibed more and more the features of the popular Vidūṣaka attached to a Nāgaraka or a courtesan, with the result that being associated more and more with his patron's amorous activities he came to be known as 'Vidūṣaka' and to be looked upon by most of the rhetoricians as a low character. It may be that during the palmy days of Indian civilization which preceded Vātsyāyana the Hāsyakāra or Narma-saciva of the royal assembly had begun even before his inclusion in Sanskrit dramas to be influenced by the character of the popular Vidūṣaka, who also had fun-making and psychological study (*bhāva-jijñāsā*) of persons among his functions, and that Bharata and the earliest dramatists derived him from actual life in India, but the growing influence of the *Kāma-sūtra* on the rhetoricians and dramatists cannot be denied and is definitely shown, in the case of the Vidūṣaka, by the repetition of Vātsyāyana's definition of this character in some of the works on rhetorics.[3] Whether in the royal court or assembly or in the company of a Nāgaraka or a courtesan the Vidūṣaka is a highly intelligent man and is by no means a fool.

The origin of the Vidūṣaka of Sanskrit rhetoricians from the harmless Hāsyakāra or Narma-saciva of the royal assembly and his subsequent assumption of the name and some of the characteristics of the popular Vidūṣaka (who was attached to the Nāgaraka of the Kāma-śāstra) explain why he is a Brahmin but speaks Prakrit, why he is recognized as a high character by Bharata but is found to indulge in absurdities and sometimes to use abusive language even, and why he alone, and not the other Narma-sacivas such as the Pīṭhamarda and the Viṭa whom Vātsyāyana and many of the rhetoricians following Bharata deemed superior to the Vidūṣaka, is allowed to appear in dramas as a constant and respected companion of even a royal hero. The Pīṭhamarda and the Viṭa, though found to be Brahmins in many cases,[1] have been notorious from early times for their low moral character and unholy association with courtesans, and it is for this reason that their appearance in dramas has been restricted by the rhetoricians.

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[1] *kati santīha gaṇikā bhramante kāma-sevayā |*
rāja-rājaśya mahiṣī kā no bhavitum icchati ||
brāhmaṇāḥ vividhāḥ santi tāpasa-cchadma-rūpiṇaḥ |
tāsām anugraheṇaiva samaṃ tābhir bhramanti ca ||
bhuñjate vipulān bhogān gaṇikābhir upārjitān ||

Dacca University MS. No. 1625, fol. 6a-b.

[2] For the history and popularity of Kāma-śāstra before Vātsyāyana see H. C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, pp. 1ff. See also S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* (published by the Calcutta University), pp. 20ff. for the profound influence of the Science of Erotics, especially of the life of the Nāgaraka, on the growth of Sanskrit Kāvya.

Note, in this connection, king Duṣyanta's request to the Vidūṣaka to console Haṃsapadikā in *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*, Act V (*gaccha nāgaraka-vṛttyā saṃjñāpayainām*), in which there is clear reference to a king's practising Nāgaraka-vṛtti.

[3] See, for instance, Bhojadeva's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* quoted in foot-note 3 on p. 90 above.

In Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* even we not only find the repeated use of the word '*kāma-tantra*' in Chaps. 22 and 23 (= Benares ed., Chaps. 24 and 25) but also meet with the name '*Kāma-sūtra*' in a verse in the Benares ed. (24. 142) which does not occur in the Bombay ed.

The remarkable influence of the Kāma-śāstra on the rhetoricians and dramatists was mainly responsible for introducing the Narma-saciva, called Vidūṣaka, into a new sphere of activity which was different from the royal assembly. As a matter of fact, the Sanskrit literature abounds in dramas with heroes in love, but there is extreme paucity of dramatic works in which *royal* heroes appear mainly as political administrators and conquerors. There are, of course, a few dramas in Sanskrit, such as Bhāsa's *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, which are sometimes called political, but really they are love-dramas with political ends. The only two really political dramas are the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* and the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*, and neither of them has a king as the hero. In the former the king's rôle is insignificant, and in the latter he is a helpless prisoner living far away from his kingdom. It is for this want of a requisite atmosphere that in the extant dramas there is very little trace of the Vidūṣaka's original function of psychological study of persons through jests for facilitating political administration and ensuring the personal safety of the king. Yet, in the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* the Vidūṣaka takes an active part in Yaugandharāyaṇa's political moves for the rescue of king Udayana from the prison of Ujjayinī and, hiding very cleverly his own identity under the guise of a Ḍiṇḍika,[2] helps Yaugandharāyaṇa by working with great intelligence and success as his messenger to Udayana in prison. In the *Avimāraka* (Act IV, verse 21) he is described by the hero as a brave fighter in battles and a violent foe to the enemies. This evidence of Bhāsa's works and the facts that the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Kāmandakīya *Nīti-sāra* mention a jester of a royal assembly as a 'Hāsyakāra' and 'Narma-saciva' respectively and not as a 'Vidūṣaka', that the *Kāma-sūtra* names one of the assistants and advisors of the Nāgarakas and courtesans in their love-affairs as a 'Vidūṣaka' or 'Vaihāsika' and not as a 'Narma-saciva', that Bharata neither mentions the Pīṭhamarda nor associates the jester, whom he calls 'Vidūṣaka', with the hero of a drama as an active helper in his love-makings but recognizes the latter as a high character, and that the later rhetoricians call the jester 'Narma-saciva', 'Vaihāsika' (or 'Vaihasika') and 'Vidūṣaka' and look upon him almost universally as a low character, sometimes inferior even to the Pīṭhamarda and the Viṭa, show clearly that the Vidūṣaka of the Sanskrit rhetoricians and dramatists owes his origin to a fusion of the two characters mentioned above.

We have already referred to the influence of the rhetoricians and dramatists on the growth of the Vidūṣaka of Sanskrit dramas. This influence is particularly remarkable in Bharata and others' description of the Vidūṣaka as an extremely ugly person with a deformed physique; but, barring the name 'Dantavaktra' of one of Rāma's jesters—a name which may be absolutely insignificant with regard to the appearance of the person named, there is nothing in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kāmandakīya *Nīti-sāra* and *Kāma-sūtra* which may indicate that the Vidūṣaka had an uncouth appearance. Even Yaśodhara, the commentator of the *Kāma-sūtra*, who flourished much later, gives no hint of the Vidūṣaka's appearance, although he informs us in his commentary on *Kāma-sūtra* i. 4. 47-48, that the Vidūṣaka was a married but extremely poor man who had no fortune at all or had eaten up his fortune to such an extent that he had only his body left as an asset and that he was either a local man or a stranger come to the locality for earning his livelihood in the capacity not only of a professional jester in clubs and abodes of courtesans but also of a go-between in love-affairs. The gluttony of the Vidūṣaka, so frequently referred to in Sanskrit dramas and rhetorical works, is likewise unknown to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Kāmandakīya *Nīti-sāra*, and particularly the *Kāma-sūtra*. Evidently it is a new trait attributed to the Vidūṣaka by Sanskrit rhetoricians and dramatists for the sake of the comic sentiment (*hāsya-rasa*), and its basis is the Vidūṣaka's acute bread-problem which compelled him to take to a low profession.

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[1] For instance, the *Daśa-kumāra-carita* mentions an old Viṭa who was a Brahmin by caste. See Ucchvāsa v (Pramati-carita), p. 143 (*saṃnidhi-niṣaṇṇas tu me vṛddha-viṭaḥ ko pi brāhmaṇaḥ* . . . . .) and p. 144 (*so 'pī viṭa-brāhmaṇaḥ* . . . . .).

[2] One, who begs by creating laughter of people by abnormal dress, talks, etc., is called a Ḍiṇḍika (*ḍiṇḍiko nāma yo vikṛta-veṣa-bhāṣaṇādinā janasya hāsyaṃ janayan bhikṣām arjayati sa ucyate.*—T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī's commentary on the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*).

It is difficult to account for the name of the Vidūṣaka. Yaśodhara, in his commentary on *Kāma-sūtra* i. 4. 47-48, explains it as follows: 'As, by virtue of his earned intimacy, he censures a courtesan or a Nāgaraka erring on some point or other, he is called Vidūṣaka. And as, due to his character as a jester, he moves about in the house of a courtesan or in a club, making various kinds of laughter, he is called Vaihāsika. Thus he has both the names.'[1] Rāma-candra and Guṇa-candra, on the other hand, say that those, who thoroughly pollute or terminate love-peace with love-war and *vice versa* and make the lovers forget the pangs of separation by yielding diversion, are called Vidūṣaka.[2] Or, it may also be said that the Vidūṣaka was originally so called for corrupting people by bringing them in contact with courtesans. But none of these etymological explanations seems to be very happy. It is more probable that the names 'Pīṭhmarda', 'Viṭa' and 'Vidūṣaka' are Sanskritized forms of popular names now lost to us. Yaśodhara, however, gives etymological explanations for the names 'Pīṭhamarda' and 'Viṭa' also, the former being analyzed as '*pīṭhaṃ mṛdnātīti*' (i.e. one who presses a seat by sitting on it) and the latter being derived from the root '*viṭ*' (to say).[3]

We have already referred to Bharata's direction that the Vidūṣaka is to speak a Prakrit dialect called Prācyā. Although Bharata does not give any indication as to the nature of this dialect, it is evident from its name that it belonged to Eastern India. It is probable that in selecting this dialect for the Vidūṣaka Bharata was guided by the prominence attained by the city of Pāṭaliputra and its courtesans from the fourth century B.C. as well as by the work of the famous Kāmaśāstra-writer Dattaka, who, as Vātsyāyana says in his *Kāma-sūtra* i. 1. 11, wrote at the request of the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra a separate treatise[1] on the Vaiśika section of the bigger work of Bābhravya of Pañcāla. We have already seen how the popular Vidūṣaka was intimately connected with courtesans and with Nāgarakas in their love with public women. So, it is not improbable that the Vidūṣaka of Pāṭaliputra was taken as a norm by Bharata.

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[1] *sa ca veśyāṃ nāgarakaṃ vā kvacit pramādyantaṃ labdha-praṇayatvād apavadate iti vidūṣakaḥ | krīḍanakatvāc ca veśe goṣṭhyāṃ ca vividhena hāsena caratīti vaihāsika ity ubhaya-nāmā |*

[2] *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, Viveka 4—

ādi-śabdād dhīroddhata-dhīralalita-dhīraśāntā gṛhyante | eṣāṃ viyogināṃ . . . . sandhiṃ vigraheṇa vigrahaṃ sandhinā ca viśeṣeṇa dūṣayanti vināśayanti, vipralambhaṃ tu vinoda-dānena vismārayantīti vidūṣakāḥ |

[3] *vṛttim anyām anicchan veśyā-janaṃ nāgaraka-janaṃ copajīvati | tad-upajīvitayā tayoḥ saṃdeśaṃ parasparaṃ viṭatīti kathayatīti viṭaḥ | 'viṭ śabde' iti dhātu-pāṭhāt |*

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[1] Dattaka's work was utilized by Vātsyāyana in writing the relevant section of his *Kāma-sūtra* and must have been in use in the eighth century A.D. when Dāmodaragupta referred to it in his *Kuṭṭanīmata* (verses 77 and 122).

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
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TWO MEDIAEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

By Priyatosh Banerjee

(*Paper received on 19th February, 1953*)

A. The Bihar Hill Image Inscription dated in the year 3 of Madanapala's reign.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a four-armed image of Pārvatī, now preserved in the Patna Museum, Patna. The head and the upper left arm of the image are broken and lost. Pārvatī [1] is shown seated in *lalitāsana* with a child in her left lap. The inscription in question has been noticed by Cunningham in *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. III, p. 124. He gives therein only a partial reading of the text and no facsimile. I take the opportunity of publishing it in this journal along with a facsimile of the inscription and a photograph of the image (pl. III) on which it occurs.

The inscription consists of four lines of writing in north-eastern script of *c.* 12th century A.D. The beginnings of almost all the lines are broken with the result that several words are only in a fragmentary state and cannot be properly understood. The record is dated in the year 3 of the reign of Madanapāla, one of the last Pāla rulers who ruled from 1144-45 A.D. up to 1161-62 A.D.[2] Besides this one, three more inscriptions of the reign of Madanapāla have been noticed. They are (1) the Manahali copperplate[3] of year 8; (2) Jayanagar Image Inscription[4] of year 19(?) and a recently acquired stone inscription [5] of year 18, Śaka year, 1083.

The language of the inscription is incorrect Sanskrit. Its object is to record the dedication of the (Pārvatī) image by a person called Māmayika. He seems to be described in the inscription as *ṇa(na)u-sama-ratha-sa(śa)kti*. This expression is not a happy one and might have been used in the place of *samāna-nau-ratha-śakti* denoting probably that the donor was one whose power lay in having possessed naval boats [6] and chariots in equally good number. As the epithet would show, Māmayika was perhaps an important personage in the king's service holding command of the royal navy and chariots.

Text [7]

1. . . : ktā-di-rājā-matī [8] pūrvvavat śrīmato(n)-Madanapā [la-deva-pravardhamāna-]
2. . . . [vi]jaya-rāj[y]e sam(ṁ) [va]t 3 Vais(ś)ākha-dine 24

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[1] Cunningham calls this image Ṣaṣṭhī. But the attributes in the hands of the image, i.e. *Mātuluṅga* in Devī's right lower hand and a trident in right upper hand and the presence of the lion on the pedestal prove beyond doubt that the image is one of Pārvatī.

[2] *J.A.S.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 29, 1951.

[3] Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Indian Inscriptions*, No. 1639. Manahali is in Dinajpur district, Bengal.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 1640. Jayanagar is in Monghyr District, Bihar.

[5] D. C. Sircar, *J.A.S.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 29 (1951). This inscription was found in a village near Lucckesarai, District Monghyr, *J.A.S.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 29 (1951).

[6] Navy plays an important part in the history of the Pāla period.

[7] From an estampage.

[8] Read *ity=ādi-rāj-āvalī.*

3. . . . datri (ttā ?) // Deva(ya)-dharmoyaṁ dānapati-ṇa(ṇa)u-
4. . . . sama-ratha-sa(śa)kti-Māmayikasyaḥ // [1]

TRANSLATION

The *rājāvalī* is as before. On the 24th day of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 3 of the prosperous and victorious reign of Madanapāla this pious gift was made by Māmayika whose power lay in having possessed naval boats and chariots in equal number.

B. Giriyek Image Inscription, Saṁvat 42.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a seated Khasarpaṇa image (pl. III) damaged. It was found by Cunningham in Giriyek, Bihar and a drawing of the inscription was published by him in *A.S.R.*, Vol. I, pl. XIII, wherein however the first letter of the last line is missing. So far as I know, nobody has published the reading of the inscription as yet. It is now preserved in the Patna Museum, Patna, and I am publishing it here along with its facsimile.

The inscription consists of three lines. It is written in eastern script of *c.* 12th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. The object of the epigraph is to record the gift of the image by sādhu Śrīkara and sādhu Dāgonmata [2] who were merchants and inhabitants of Mathurā. The inscription is dated in the year 42 of an era or *saṁvat* not specified. It is difficult to say to which era the year should be referred. Palaeographically, the inscription belongs to the 1st part of the 12th century A.D. And as such it might refer to the regnal year 42 of Rāmapāla. But we cannot be sure on this point as ordinarily the regnal years are referred to after the mention of the king in whose reign the years fall and there is no mention of any king in this particular instance.

The term sādhu is significant. The merchants, as generally found, are very devoted and generous as lay-worshippers, and as a result of this they came to have this appellation before their names. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, chapter 68, it is stated that Padminī-*vidyā* ('which is productive of earthly enjoyment (*bhogopapādikā*) land which has for its bases the treasures') (*tatsaṁśrayā ye nidhayaḥ*) can be attained by good men due to the grace of the gods, and by their own service to the sādhus (*devatānāṁ prasādena sādhu-saṁsevanena ca* [3]). This also implies quite naturally that those who would like to enjoy wealth must not only seek divine grace and serve the sādhus, but must themselves be sādhus. Hence the epithet *sādhu* is very fitting before the names of the merchants who are seekers of wealth. It is interesting to note that the present-day merchant families of Bihar and Bengal are also called Sāhu or Sāu, a corrupt form of Sanskrit *sādhu*. The term which was at first used to denote the honesty and integrity of the merchants or businessmen in their secular and religious life came to mean laterly a particular community, analogically.

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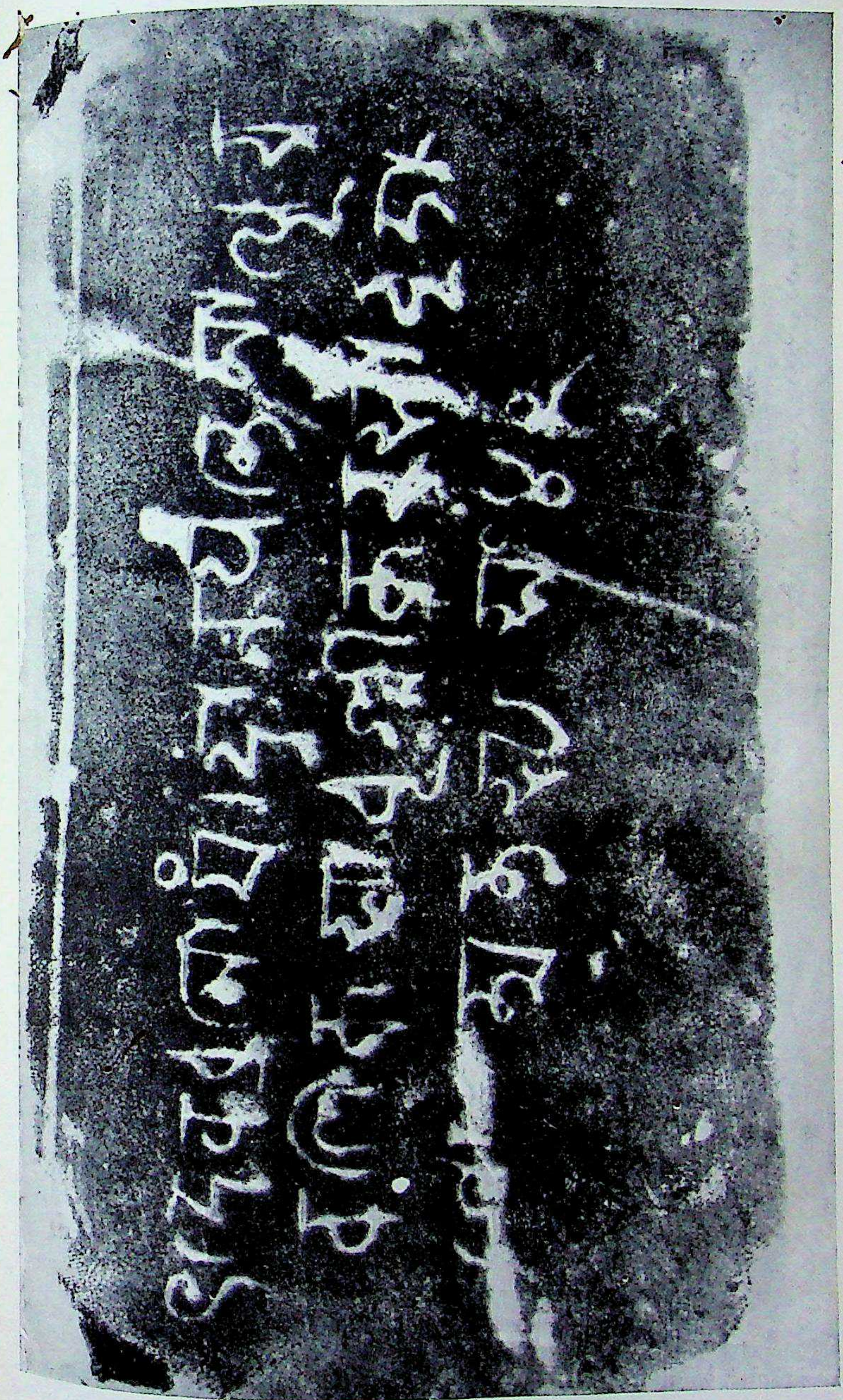
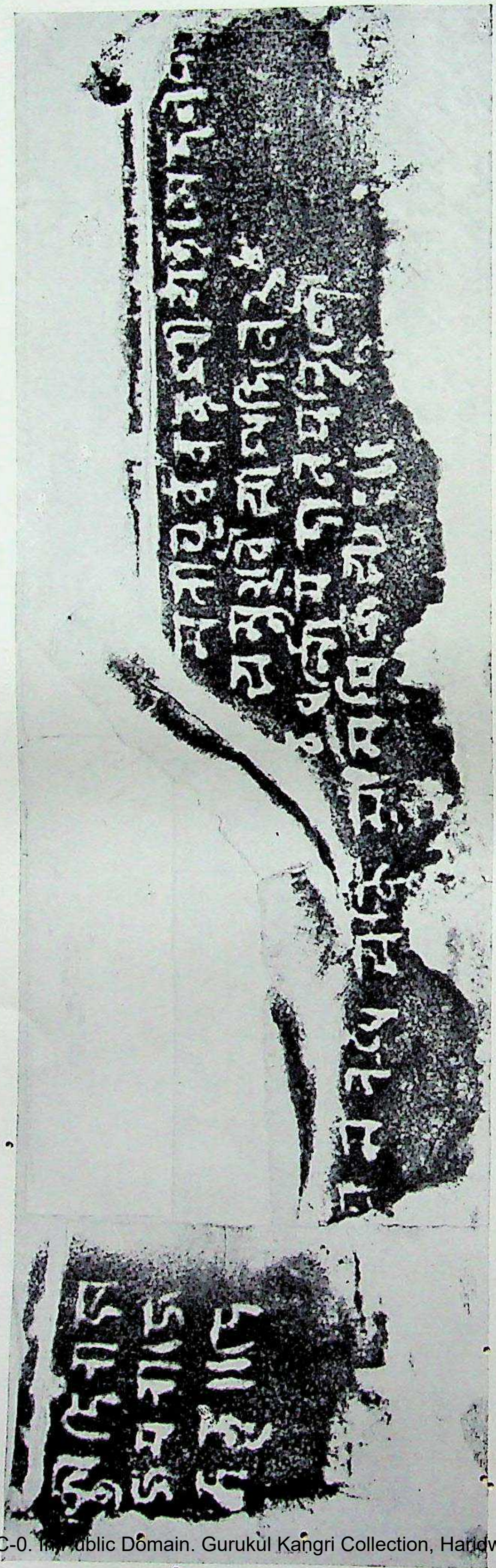
[1] Read *Māmayikasya*. The first letter of this name is intriguing, it may be Sā also. The reading of the early portion of the line is only a probable one. It is quite possible that there were some letters preceding the word *sama*, which are totally defaced now. Whatever it might be, there is hardly any doubt from the presence of the words *nau* and *ratha* that the donor possessed a good number of naval boats and chariots.

[2] I am not sure of the correct reading of this name.

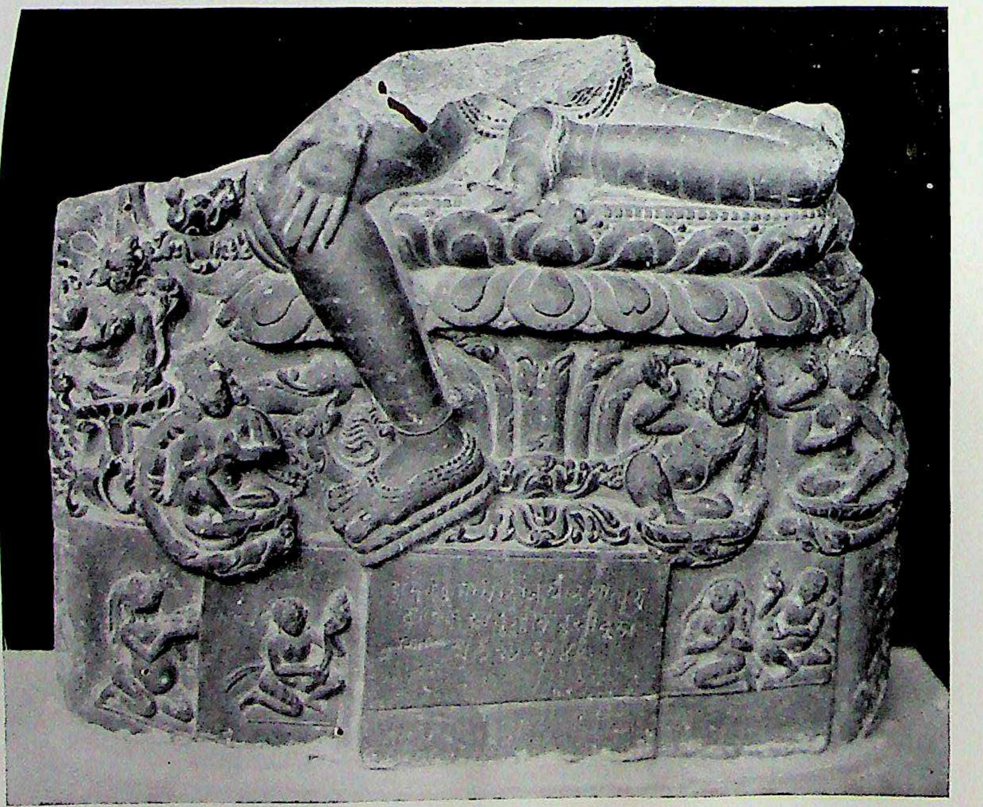
[3] J. N. Banerjea, *J.I.S.O.A.*, 1941, p. 143.



Giriyek Image Inscription, Saṁvat 42.



Bihar Hill Image Inscription, year 3 of Madanapāla's reign.



Giriyek Image (broken) of Khasarpaṇa bearing on its pedestal an inscription of Saṁvat 42.

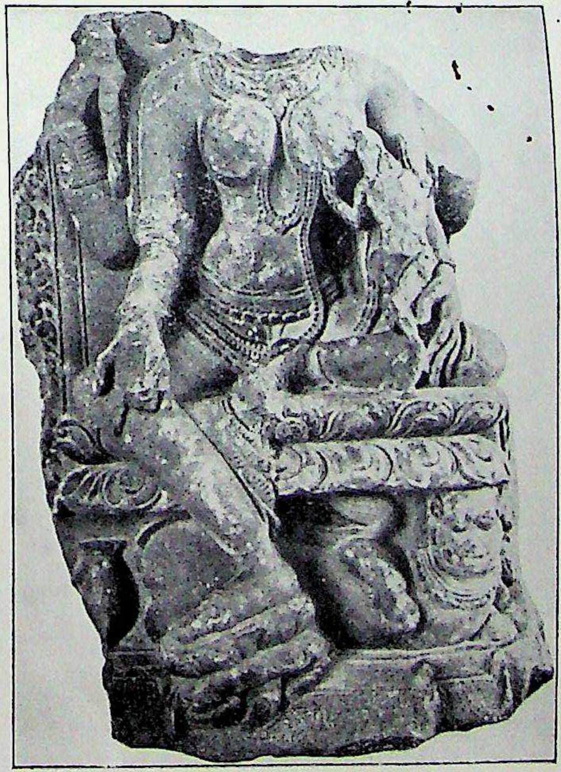


Image of Pārvatī (broken) bearing on its pedestal the inscription of Madanapāla's reign, year 3.

The gift of an image at Bihar by sādhu Śrīkara and sādhu Dāgonmata, merchants and inhabitants of Mathurā indicate (quite naturally of course) the importance of Bihar as a religious centre in the eyes of the Buddhists. There is plenty of literary and epigraphic evidence to show that Buddhists from different parts of India and outside visited Bihar, or made gifts here. They include the well-known names of Chinese travellers, Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang; Meghavarṇa, a contemporary of Samudragupta, Prakhyātakīrti[1] (5th century A.D.), Mahānāman[2] (6th century A.D.), Udayaśrī[3] (11th century A.D.) of Ceylon; Bālaputradeva[4] (9th century A.D.), lord of Suvarṇadvīpa and also a number of individuals from Sindhu-deśa, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and other places.

Text[5]

1. oṁ[6] deva(ya)-dha[r]moyaṁ(m)/ Dānapati-māthūra (thura).
2. vaṇik sādhū(dhu) Śrīkara sādhū(dhu) Dā-
3. gonmatasya[7] saṁ 42[//]

Translation

In the year 42, this pious gift was made by the donors, sādhu Śrīkara and sādhu Dāgonmata, merchants of Mathurā.

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[1] Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Indian Inscriptions*, No. 1737.

[2] ~~*Ibid.*, No.~~ 1739.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 1740.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 1613.

[5] From an estampage.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] The first letter of this name is intriguing. It may be also *Tā*.

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A JAINA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

By Priyatosh Banerjee, *Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta*

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara image found at Katara in the Bharatpur State of Rajasthan. The main image is missing. The inscribed pedestal is now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere. I edit the inscription from an estampage which has been very kindly sent by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, M.A., Curator, Rajputana Museum, for my study and publication. I am most grateful to Mr. Bhattacharya for this.

The inscription consists of two lines of writing. The last two letters of the first line are effaced to a great extent but they can be restored from the traces left of them. The concluding portion of the second line is altogether peeled off; again, the last five letters of the line, as extant are very intriguing and baffle correct reading.

The inscription is dated Saṁvat 1051 = A.D. 994.

The character is Northern Nāgarī of the 10th century. The letters resemble closely those of the Bālerā plates[1] of Mūlarāja I, Saṁvat 1051 and of other contemporary records.

The language is Sanskrit. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a Jina image by three brothers, Siṁhaika, Yaśorāja and Nonnaika at the behest of their teacher or *Guru* Śrī-Śūra-sena. It may be stated in this connection that several epigraphic records of this period mention Jaina *gurus* with names ending in *senas*. The names of Jaina *gurus* such as Śruta-sena, Śāntisena and Śrī-sena occur in an inscription of c. 900 A.D. which has been found in Channapatna Taluq and published in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX, p. 145. The next inscription also found in the same place refers to names such as Candra-sena and Nāga-sena belonging to the Sandigavāṭa line. The Kanarese Inscription of the reign of Someśvara I, Śaka year 975 (A.D. 1053) which was found in Muḷgund introduces the names of Jaina teachers, Ajita-sena, Narendra-sena and Naya-sena who belonged to the Candrakavāṭānvaya of the Mūla-saṁgha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 53ff.). The Kanarese Lakshmeshwar Inscription of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, A.D. 1081 refers to Jaina *gurus* Narendra-sena I, Naya-sena and Narendra-sena II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 58). Such names may be easily multiplied from several other contemporary inscriptions.

Śūra-sena and his disciples seem to have belonged to what is called Vāgaṭa-saṁgha which has been mentioned in the 2nd line of the inscription (Jayati śrī Vāgaṭa-saṁghaḥ). The Vāgaṭa-saṁgha seems to be an old Jaina saṁgha, though its name does not occur in many inscriptions. According to the Paṭṭāvalis of Ācārya Surendra Kīrti, it was one of the four Gacchas belonging to the Kāṣṭhā-saṁgha, the other three being Nanditata, Māthura and Lāḍa-Vāgaḍa (kāṣṭhā-saṁgho bhuvi khyāto jānanti nṛisurāsurāḥ | tatra Gacchāśca catvāro rājante viśrutāḥ kṣitau|| Śrī Nanditatasaṁghaśca Māthuro Vāgaḍāvidhaḥ | Lāḍa-Vāgaḍa ityete vikhyātāḥ kṣitimaṇḍale ||)

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 78f.

From the preceding it appears that most of the Jaina-saṁghas were named after the places in which they were located. Vāgaṭa, we know, is the ancient name of the region now called Dungarpur State in Rajasthan. The Vāgaṭa-saṁgha seems, later on, to have been known as Lāṭa-Vāgaṭa (or Lāḍa-Vāgaḍa)-saṁgha as Lāṭa (Gujrāṭ) and Vāgaṭa were for a considerable period of time under the sway of one royal house. This combined Lāṭa-Vāgaṭa (or Lāḍa-Vāgaḍa)-saṁgha is found mentioned in several inscriptions. The Jaina *gurus* Deva-sena and Ācārya Kumāra-sena mentioned respectively in the Dubkund stone inscription of the Kacchapaghāta Vikrama-siṁha, [Vikrama] year 1145 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 232ff.), and in the Badhnor Jaina pedestal inscription, Saṁvat 1216 (Bhandarkar's list No. 316) belonged to this Lāṭa-Vāgaṭa-saṁgha. The author of Pradyumna-caritakāvya, Mahāsena also, who was probably a contemporary of Paramāra king Muñja, belonged to this saṁgha.[1]

TEXT [2]

1. Śrī Su(Śū)ra-sen-opadese(śe)na Siṁhaika-Yaśorāja-Nonnaikaiḥ sahodaraiḥ saṁsāra-bhaya-bhītair = etaJ-jina [3]-[v]i[ṁba]ṁ
2. kāritam = iti ‖ Jayati śrī-Vāgaṭa-saṁghaḥ ‖ Saṁvat 1051 kri(?)ṣṇa-ga(?)ṇena-gha [4]. . . . .

TRANSLATION

In obedience to the instruction of Śrī Śūra-sena this Jina image is caused to be made by the (three) brothers, Siṁhaika, Yaśorāja and Nonnaika afflicted with the fear of this world. Victory be to the illustrious Vāgaṭa-saṁgha. Saṁvat 1051 . . . .

---

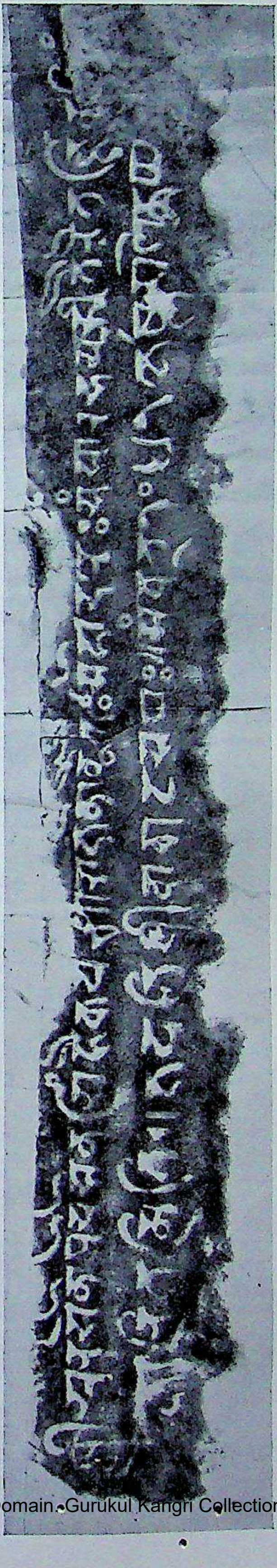
[1] I am most grateful to Babu Chotelal Jain who has kindly supplied me at my request with this valuable piece of information regarding the Vāgaṭa-saṁgha.

[2] From an estampage.

[3] *Na* is faintly visible.

[4] I am unable to give any satisfactory reading of the concluding portion of the inscription. Generally in such Jaina inscriptions the *Saṁvat* is followed by the name of a month and then *pakṣa*, etc. But nothing can be said definitely from the letters as extant.

This inscription has been briefly referred to by G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, p. 1 and by C. L. Jain, *Jaina Bibliography*, p. 64.



A Jaina Pedestal Inscription, Saṁvat 1051.

The paper on ‘An Unpublished Persian Inscription in the Provincial Museum, Orissa’ by A. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A., P.R.S., which appeared in this *Journal* (Vol. XVIII, No. 2), deals with an inscription originally [illegible] at Qadam Rasul Cuttack, but now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Orissa, at Bhuvaneswar. The inscription is dated in 1194 A.H. and is written in clear *Nastā’līq*. It refers to the death of one who is variously mentioned in the record by means of epithets. The accompanying plate for the epigraph concerned is now being placed before scholars to enable them to compare the reading suggested, with the writing on the stone

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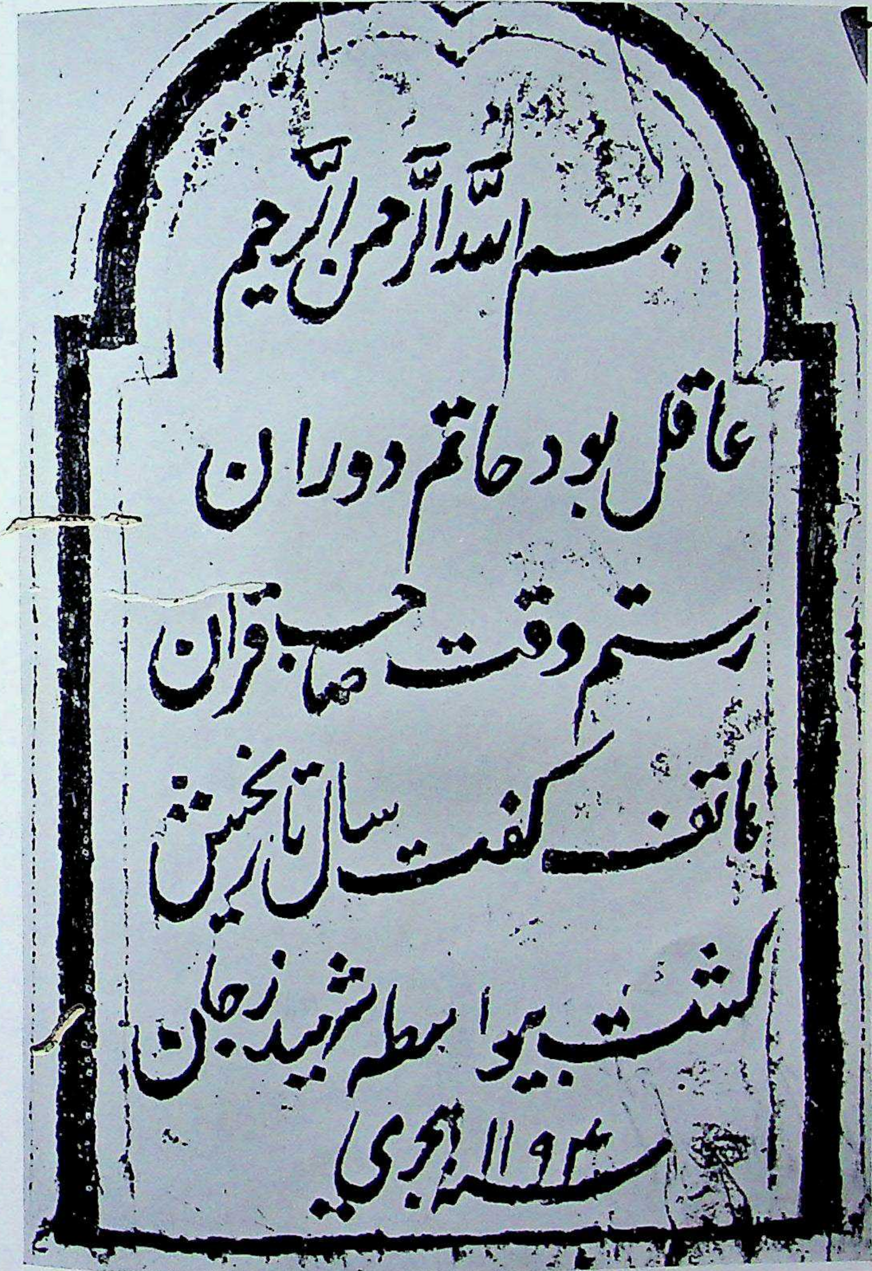

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

عاقل بود حاتم دوران

رستم وقت صاحب قران

هاتف گفت سال تاریخش

کشته بیوا سبط شهید زجان

سنه ١١٩٣ هجری

Persian Inscription in the Provincial Museum, Orissa.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1953.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

M. Hermanns, 'Die Amdo-pa—Grosstibeter'. Die sozial-wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der hirtenkulturen Innerasiens. Freiburg, 1948, pp. i–xvi, 1–325, 54 ill., 4 maps.

Dr. Matthias Hermanns has given us an important monograph on the material culture of the Tibetan tribes of Amdo which he rightly considers to have been the centre of expansion of Tibetan tribes. The author describes the Amdo nomads against the general background of nomad Central Asia. In the historical introduction an attempt is made to outline the early cultural and economic contacts of ancient Tibetan tribes, known to the Chinese by the name of Ch'iang who about 2000 B.C. occupied an extensive area in modern Kan-su, North Ssŭ-ch'uan, Shên-hsi, and as far as T'ai-yüan in Shan-hsi. The author suggests that the name Ch'iang is a transcription of the Tibetan འཇང་། 'J̌aṅ, n. of an ancient Tibetan kingdom situated between the Kuku-nor lake and northern Ssŭ-ch'uan. The late Professor Pelliot suggested that the Chinese Ch'iang represented a native 'Greṅ (འགྲེང་།), a name which occurs in the documents studied by Dr. F. W. Thomas (JRAS, 1928, p. 98, also 'Nam', Oxford, 1948, p. 32). The author gives a brief survey of the neolithic sites in Lower Amdo which have yielded wares of the Yang-shao type, and stresses the absence of paleolithic sites in Amdo. The prehistoric inhabitants of these sites must have been sedentary and nomad tribes engaged in cattle-breeding, with hunting as an accessory occupation.

On pp. 7–10 the author discusses the tribal name Bod-čhen or 'Great Bod' and touches upon the much debated question of the origin of the name 'Tibet'. W. Rockhill ('Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet', 1895, p. 669) had suggested that the word 'Tibet' represents two Tibetan words, meaning 'Upper Bod' (or sTod-Bod). Others (B. Laufer and O. Francke) maintained that such a name was not found in Tibetan literature. The name Twp'wt (*Tupūt) is found in the Sogdian Ladak inscription and in the Qarabalghasun inscription (line 19th; see W. B. Henning, 'Sogdica', London, 1940, pp. 8 and 11; Benveniste, BSOS, IX, p. 504—Twp'nyt∼Tup'yyt). In the form Töpöt∼Tüpüt the name is found in the Orkhon inscriptions, and was known as Tubbat to the Arabs who must have heard the name from Sogdian traders or Central Asian Turkish nomads. The Tibetan habit of juxtaposing two names indicating provinces to designate an area is well known. Thus we have Ǖ-Tsaŋ (དབུས་གཙང་། dbUs-gTsaṅ) for Central Tibet (dbUs and gTsaṅ), DoK'am (མདོ་ཁམས། mDo-Khams) for Eastern Tibet (Amdo and Khams), Dak-Koŋ (དགས་ཀོང་། Dags-Koṅ) for the provinces of Dags-po and Koṅ-po, etc. It is true that the expression sTod-Bod is not found in Tibetan literature, but it is not impossible, and one does find the expression sTod-dbUs-gTsaṅ, meaning Western and Central Tibet, which is synonymous with sTod-Bod. The name seems to indicate a knowledge of the western part of the country. It is not impossible that the name sTod-Bod or Tö-Pö was first used by Sogdian traders who used to penetrate on the Tibetan upland from Ladak, and must have travelled by the caravan route to Tö (sTod) or Western Tibet, and then reached Pö (Bod) or Central Tibet.

The author attempts to trace the sequence of nomadic cattle-breeding in the region. According to him, the Tibetan must have originally been sheep- and yak-breeding nomads. Horse-breeding developed among them at a later stage, possibly under the influence of neighbouring Turkish-Mongol tribes which were horse-breeders. However, the author stresses that the Tibetan pony belongs to a definite mountain breed. In discussing the early history of cattle-breeding among the Tibetan tribes of the north-east, the author gives a sketch of inter-tribal relations during the first millennium B.C. when the area of Kan-su and part of adjoining Ning-hsia were inhabited by Indo-European nomads—the Yüeh-chih-Tokharians who were a horse- and cattle-breeding race. Discussing the modern tribal shifts in the area, the author observes the rapid disappearance of the Mongol population in the Kuku-nor region which is rapidly being Tibetanized under the influence of neighbouring Tangut tribes. In 1936 with the arrival of large bands of Qazaq nomads who were allowed by the Hsi-ning authorities to settle in the Chi'ng-hai Province, considerable shifts of population took place. Qazaq inroads forced the Taijinar Mongols south of the Tsaidam to flee westwards towards Ghas in the Bagha Serthang desert, west of Tsaidam. Some of the Kurluk Mongols even migrated towards An-hsi in Western Kan-su.

According to the author (p. 66) the preparation of fermented mare's milk is unknown among Amdo nomads. In Central Tibet some tribes of Mongol descent still prepare fermented mare's milk. Thus the Dam-sok (འདམ་སོག། 'Dam-sog), originally a Khoshut tribe settled in the area north-east of the lake Nam-ts'o (བྱང་གནམ་མཚོ། Byaṅ gNam-tsho), are supposed to send a yearly tribute of fermented mare's milk to the Dalai Lama. Fermented mare's milk is known by its Mongol name of čegē which is also used by local Tibetans. The native Tibetan name for fermented mare's milk is gö-ra (རྒོད་རག། rgod-rag), 'mare's milk'. The Rwa-sgreṅ bLa-braṅ and the Grub-khaṅ bLa-braṅ in Nag-čhu used to obtain their supply of fermented mare's milk or čegē from the nomads of the Amdo tsho-nag, a lake situated west of Nag-čhu-kha.

Page 67—the Tibetan ho-ma is a loan-word from Sanskrit (<homa, 'oblation, sacrifice').

Page 83—the Mongol name of the pole with the help of which two riders pull a carriage is damnūr (damnaghūr).

Page 111—yaks are only met with in Lahul and Spiti. Kulu is too warm for them, and all attempts to breed domestic yaks in the valley have failed.

Page 162—the author gives the interesting information that the wild horse (Equus Przewalski) is found in West Tsaidam. The present habitat of the animal is the Gobi south of the Altai range between the mountain massif of Baitag-Bogdo and Aji-Bogdo on the borders of Mongolia and Hsin-chiang. Dzerlik-adū (zerlig-adughū) is the Dēd-Mongol name of the animal. The Khalkha Mongols call it takĭ, and the Torgūds—takár.

The last chapters of the book are devoted to the sedentary Amdo-pas or roṅ-pas. According to the author the sedentary tribes have originally been nomads, and some of the tribes appear to remember their nomadic past. At present a drift from the sedentary to the nomad is noticeable, no doubt due to the higher standard of living of the nomad. Dr. Hermanns has touched in the present book on an exceedingly interesting subject which will no doubt lead to further studies in this vital field.

G. ROERICH.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, NEW SERIES, VOL. 40, PART 4.

THE NALARAYA DAVADANTICARITA (Adventures of King Nala and Davadanti)—a work in Old Gujarātī. Edited and translated with a grammatical analysis and glossary by Ernest Bender, South Asia Regional Studies Department and Oriental Studies Department, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. March, 1951.

The work is divided into five sections: I. Introduction dealing with the source of the materials, the story and its significance, and the metres; II. Grammar, discussed under the heads Phonology, Morphology and Syntax; III. Text in roman transliteration; IV. Translation; V. Glossary; and VI. References.

The poem, in Old Gujarāti, was written by Ṛsivarddha, a disciple of a Jain monk Jayakīrti, in Saṃvat 1512 (= 1455-56 A.D.) or, according to one manuscript, in Saṃvat 1535 (= 1478-79 A.D.). Early New Indo-Aryan texts bearing definite date of composition are not abundant. So this text admirably edited by Bender is an important contribution to the study of New Indo-Aryan philology in general and Gujarāti in particular. The text is based on four manuscripts, and the variant readings are all recorded. The translation is faithful. The glossary is not the least important part of the work. The following points, however, call for notice. *Agādha* primarily means 'profound' and only secondarily 'great'. *Antaraṅga* is not 'unsteady'. *Abujha* is not from *abudhvā* but from **abudhya-* (=*abuddha-*). *Caṃḍuya* (*caṃdūyā*) is not 'hall' but 'canopy, canopied pavilion'. *Sīla* is not 's'ālathorn' but 'dart, pike, spear' (tadbhava from *śalya-*). *Sudi* is not a Sanskrit word; it is an early vernacular abbreviation for *śuddha* (or *śukla*) *dina* (or *divosa*). There are some interesting Perso-Arabic words; e.g. *ḍila* ('heart'), *jara* ('gold'), *-dāra* ('bearer'), *maṇā* ('want, lack'), *romali* ('fortune-telling') and *sakī* ('correctly').

Of special interest are the words implying the different styles of chanting and singing. *Vastu* indicates the introduction of a matter (*kathāvastu*) chanted, which is developed in the following lines, sung as a song. *Drūpada* is not a metre as Bender thinks. It is *dhrupada* or *dhruvapada*, the couplet that is repeated as refrain. *Ḍhōla* is a style of joyous or triumphant music, with its subdivisions *vivāhala* ('pertaining to marriage'), *ullīla* ('festival') and *jhāmbaṭā* (cf. *jhambhalikā* in *Vikramorvaśī*, *jhumula* Old Maithilī, *jhumur* Bengali). *Rājavallobha* is not a metre but a melody (*rāga*).

SUKUMAR SEN.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SERIES, VOLUME 33.

OLD PERSIAN. By Roland Kent. American Oriental Society. New Haven, Connecticut. 1950. Royal quarto, double column, pp. xiii, 216. Three plates.

The work is divided into three parts: Grammar (pp. 1–106), Texts with English translation (pp. 107–163), and Lexicon (pp. 164–215). There is a short Addenda (p. 216). The first part is in seven chapters, dealing respectively with Linguistic Setting; the Script; Phonology; Formation of

Noun and Adjective Stems; Declension of Nouns, Adjectives and Pronouns; Stems and Forms of Verb; and Syntax and Style. The second part comprises: description and bibliography of the inscriptions; the normalized texts with notes and English translation; and historical appendix. The third part contains the lexicon and notes on numerals and defective passages.

The entire inscriptional material of Old Persian has been put together and made useful in this neat volume in the famous American Oriental Series. The texts are all there, and translation and notes. Kent has tried often to fill up lacunae by his suggestions, and unfortunately his conjectural readings have been given almost the full value of the accepted text in the lexicon. The grammar is elaborate, rather too elaborate. It appears that it is intended for readers that have little previous knowledge of Avestan and Sanskrit. The author's knowledge of Sanskrit does not appear extensive. Sanskrit parallel of Avestan *zixšnå̄ṇhəmnā̆* is not *jajñau* (p. 35, col. 1) but *jijñāsamāna-*. Sanskrit *rocas* (p. 38, col. 1) occurs only as the second member of a compound. Old Persian *duvarayā* should be compared with Sanskrit *dvā́r(a)-* and not with fictitious *dhvae* (p. 39, col. 1; p. 192, col. 1). *U* is not 'vṛddhied to ū' (p. 44, col. 2), here Kent has confused between vṛddhi and mere lengthening. It is unfair to give 'demon' as the meaning of Sanskrit *asura-* when compared with Iranian (p. 164, col. 2). In the oldest parts of the Ṛgveda always and in Vedic generally, it means 'divine, divine spirit, supreme spirit', and this is the sense akin to Iranian *ahura-*. 'Skt. *apadhā́-* concealment' (p. 168, col. 1) is wrong; the adverb *apadhā́* 'away from' can be compared to *addhā́*, *ekadhā́*, etc. Old Persian *arjana* should be compared to Sanskrit *arhaṇa-* 'deserving, worthy' and not to *argha-* (p. 170, col. 2) showing a different stem vowel. In equating Old Persian *jadiy* to Sanskrit *jahí* Kent is careful to mention 'Skt. *j* by Grassmann's Law' (p. 36, col. 2) but forgets to mention the more important point, why palatal. Avestan *Oritya* is not 'graphic for *Oritīya-*' (p. 31, col. 1) but Indo-Iranian *-tya* as attested by Middle Indo-Aryan *ekacca-* (< *ekatya-*); *ducca-* (< *dvitya-*, Avestan *bitya-*); *tijja-*, *tejja-* (< **tritya-*). It is hardly scientific to say '**qu̯id-qu̯id*: reduplicated form' (p. 184, col. 1).

Kent is very fond of etymologizing, and he has an etymology ready for the most obscure word and the most mutilated form. What is worse this has often led him to reject some accepted and scientific etymologies and offer his own. I mention a few such absurdities. Old Persian *vainamiy* shows a root which scholars have accepted to be the same as Sanskrit (Vedic) root *ven-* 'to long, to be home-sick'. But this is not good for Kent; he derives the Old Persian root from the Indo-European stem **u̯eid-ne-* (p. 32, col. 1; p. 187, col. 2), a preposterous formation. The semantic development, which perhaps appeared insurmountable to Kent, is not without inverse parallel: Sanskrit *cakṣ-* 'to appear, to see, to tell' > Middle Indo-Aryan *cāh-* 'to long, to want, to seek, to see'. Kent connects Old Persian *yaud-* with Avestan *yaoz-* 'boil up' and not to the obvious cognate in form and meaning, Avestan *yaod-*, Sanskrit *yudh-* 'because of the difference in the present stem (Av. *yūi dyeiti*, Skt. *yúdhyati*)' (p. 204, col. 1), but he could have easily found *yodhati* in Whitney's *Roots*.

It is gratifying to note that Kent has dropped Iranian *-šh-* (in Old Persian *ušhamaranakara*, p. 178, col. 1), but has still persisted having epenthesis in Old Persian *yaumainiš* (p. 45, col. 1; p. 204, col. 1)!

The book is a neat production, remarkably free from misprints. Only two have come to my notice: **takp* (p. 37, col. 1) for **takþ*; *navyà-* (p. 193, col. 2) for *nāvyà-*.

SUKUMAR SEN.

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NOTICE

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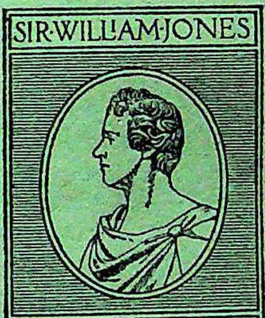
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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1953.

BALANGIR MUSEUM PLATES OF MAHĀŚIVAGUPTA I YAYĀTI; REGNAL YEAR 8

By D. C. Sircar

(*Paper received on 4th March, 1953.*)

Recently Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, kindly sent me for examination six sets of copper plates preserved in the small museum at Balangir in the old Patna State, now the District of Balangir-Patna in Orissa. On examination, it was found that two of the six sets are the Kalibhana plates of the Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, the first dated in the king's sixth regnal year and the second in the thirty-fourth regnal year, both published by me some time ago,[1] with Plates. The remaining four sets of the Balangir Museum copper plates were found to have been published by Ganga Mohan Laskar, unfortunately without facsimiles, nearly half a century ago.[2] It was also noticed that Laskar's treatment of one of the four inscriptions, marked by him as H,[3] is not quite satisfactory. He says about the inscription in question, 'This record is full of mistakes and omissions,'[4] and further observes, 'The transcription of the third plate of H is full of doubtful points here and there; in some places, they are altogether obscure. This plate, or rather the whole record, was very hastily and carelessly inscribed.'[5] Under the circumstances, the publication of the facsimile of the above inscription along with Laskar's transcript was extremely desirable as, in that case, it would have been possible for scholars to check the published reading of the record. As Laskar's transcript of this epigraph, especially the latter part of it, does not appear to me free from errors, I am re-editing it in the following pages. It will be seen that the inscription offers valuable information regarding the early history of the Somavaṁśīs with special reference to their relation with the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala.

Like other copper-plate grants of the Somavaṁśīs, often called *tri-phalī tāmra-śāsana*, this is a set of three plates. Each of the plates measures 8·2 inches by 5·6 inches and is between ·1 inch and ·15 inch in thickness, The rims of the plates are slightly raised for the protection of the writing on them. The ring-hole, which is ·7 inch from the proper right margin of the plates, is ·8 inch in diameter. The seal soldered on the joint of the ring is ·6 inch in thickness and 3·6 inches in diameter. The circular surface of the seal, the raised rim of which is slightly worn out, is 2·1 inches in diameter and has the usual emblem of Gaja-lakṣmī deeply counter-sunk on it. The first and third plates have writing only on the inner sides; but the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether fifty lines of writing in the inscription. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory. The weight of the three plates together is 186 *tolas*, while the ring, with the seal fixed on it, weighs 83 *tolas*.

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 241–44, 247–50 (jointly with Mr. P. C. Rath).
[2] *J.P.A.S.B.*, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 12-13, 14-16, 16–18, 19–23.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 14–16.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The inscription is written in characters of the Eastern variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the tenth century A.C. It closely resembles other early records of the Somavaṁśīs in regard to palaeography, language and orthography, and little calls for special mention in these respects. It may, however, be noted that the early charters of this royal family are usually more carefully engraved than the record under discussion has been. Besides the confusion between the medial forms of *u* and *ū* throughout the inscription, its concluding portion exhibits extreme carelessness on the parts of the composer and engraver.

The charter is dated in the eighth regnal year of the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti whose rule covering at least about twenty-eight years may be roughly placed in *circa* 970–1000 A.C. Elsewhere[1] I have discussed the problems relating to the genealogy and chronology of the Somavaṁśīs. Recently I have also shown how Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, who issued the charter under review, was very probably responsible for driving out the Bhañja feudatories of the imperial Bhauma-Karas of Orissa from Dhṛtipura in the Baud-Keonjhar region to Vañjulvaka in the Ganjam area about the last quarter of the tenth century, how he was later than the Bhañja rulers Śilābhañja I Aṅgaddi and his son Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa, both of Dhṛtipura, who flourished about the first half of that century, and how he appears to have been a later contemporary of Raṇabhañja (son of Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa) of Dhṛtipura, who ruled about the third quarter of the same century.[2]

The charter was issued from the *kaṭaka* (probably meaning 'city') of Vinītapura (modern Binka on the Mahanadi in the old Sonepur State) which seems to have been founded by Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti himself. The issuer of the grant is Mahāśivagupta (i.e. Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti) who is endowed with the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* and is described as *Paramamāheśvara* (devout worshipper of the god Maheśvara or Śiva), *Somakula-tilaka* (ornament of the lunar dynasty) and *Trikaliṅg-ādhipati* (lord of Trikaliṅga) exactly as in his other inscriptions. He is further stated to have been meditating (*anudhyāyin*) on the feet of *Paramamāheśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* Mahābhavagupta (i.e. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya). The king, while he was in good health, is stated to have granted a piece of land in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Kāmadeva who was the son of Narasiṁha and grandson of Harṣa. The donee belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* having the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravaras* and was a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneya *caraṇa* (of the Yajurveda). He is stated to have been a resident of Jalajaḍḍa in Kosala (i.e. South Kosala in the present Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region), although his family originally lived at Mādhvāla. The gift land was situated in the northern part of the village of Talakajja in the Sanūlā *viṣaya* (district) of Kosala (i.e. South Kosala) and included the bed of a river probably named Avarīya-nadī (may be modern Aurag, a feeder of the Mahanadi). It was made a permanent rent-free holding. The charter bears the date: the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the eighth regnal year of Yayāti (i.e. Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti). It was written by a person whose name seems to have been inadvertently omitted but who is stated to have been the son of Allava or Āllava.[3] The draft of the document was prepared with the approval (*avagatena*) of *Mahāsandhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) *Rāṇaka* Dhāradatta and in the presence (*samakṣeṇa*) of *Utthitāsanin* Utsavanāga. The expression *utthit-āsanin* (literally, 'one enjoying a high seat') is difficult to explain, although it may have indicated a noble of the king's court. The plates were engraved by the artisan (*vijñānin*) Mādhava, son of Vāsū. The major part of the space on the second of the three plates is covered by no less than thirteen of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vols. XX, pp. 76–82; XXII, pp. 300–07.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.

[3] The same as the *Mahākṣapaṭalin* Alava of a record of Mahābhavagupta I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 254).

The most interesting part of the charter is a section containing four verses engraved at the end of the document proper. This is exactly of the nature of the concluding portion of the Mahada copper-plate inscription [1] of king Someśvaradevavarman II of South Kosala and offers certain additional details regarding the donor and his family. This addition may have been made to cover the blank space at the end of the charter as in the case of records like the Guakuchi plate [2] of king Indrapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa. The first of the four verses forming the concluding section of the charter under discussion expresses the same idea as the well-known stanza *iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lolāṁ*, etc., already quoted elsewhere in the document along with other imprecatory and benedictory verses. It is unimportant from the historian's point of view. The second verse of this section says that there was a king of the lunar dynasty (*Soma-kula*), named Svabhāvatuṅga, who ruled Kosalā (capital of the Kosala or South Kosala country) and subdued the Caidyas or Cedis, i.e. the Kalacuris. The text of the third verse is extremely corrupt; it seems to mention that the Cedi king's lieutenants, headed by one *Bhaṭṭa* Peḍi, led an expedition against the Somavaṁśī kingdom and carried away a number of women, for which acts they were honoured by their master, but that king Svabhāvatuṅga, aided by a general named Lakṣmaṇa, pursued the invaders into the Cedi territory, killed *Bhaṭṭa* Peḍi and recovered the women. This verse throws welcome light on the otherwise unknown story of the struggle between the Kalacuris and the early members of the Somavaṁśa leading ultimately to the Kalacuri occupation of the western half of South Kosala.

The crime against women committed by an invading army, as indicated by the verse under discussion, is also illustrated by other similar references in epigraphic records and may not be regarded as uncommon in ancient India.[3] The fourth stanza says that the son of the above Svabhāvatuṅga resembled Viṣṇu and that this prince, caring nothing for the Caidya, i.e. the Cedi or Kalacuri king, named Durgarāja, burnt Ḍahālā (i.e. the Cedi country in the present Jubbulpur region) so that it became depopulated.

An interesting fact about these verses is that the verbs are used in the *liṭ* or Perfect Tense, although the same characteristic is also noticed in the supplementary stanzas appended to the Mahada plates and in many other records.[1] The fact, however, that the only Somavaṁśī king mentioned in the supplementary verses in our document is Svabhāvatuṅga seems to suggest that he is no other than Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, issuer of the charter. That the early rulers of this family enjoyed a diversity of names, is apparent from one of the Kalibhana copper-plate inscriptions applying the name Dharmakandarpadeva to Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya.[2] It may, however, be argued that, considering the numerous errors in the languages of these verses, it may not be impossible to take Durgarāja as the name of Svabhāvatuṅga's son rather than that of the Cedi king. In that case, Svabhāvatuṅga may have been another name of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya *alias* Dharmakandarpa, while his son Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti may have enjoyed the third name Durgarāja. This would, however, involve a serious emendation in the language of the record as it is. I am therefore inclined to favour the first of the alternative interpretations suggested above. The supplementary verses appended to our charter thus seem to say that the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, who also enjoyed the name Svabhāvatuṅga, was successful in an encounter with the Cedis or Kalacuris and that his son, whose name is not mentioned in our record but who may be no other than Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha (son and successor of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti), devastated the Ḍahālā country, ruled by the Cedi or Kalacuri king Durgarāja. These are new and valuable facts for the history both of the Somavaṁśīs and the Kalacuris, although they could not be fully realized from Laskar's transcript of the inscription under review. Unfortunately the name Durgarāja cannot be traced in the genealogy of the Kalacuris of Ḍahālā or Ḍāhala, who had their capital at Tripurī (modern Tewar near Jubbulpur). The Kalacuri contemporary of the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti *alias* Svabhāvatuṅga may have been Yuvarāja II (grandfather of Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya, *circa* 1015–41 A.C.), who was defeated by the Paramāra king Vākpati II Muñja (*circa* 973–96 A.C.).[3]

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[1] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 220 ff., where the name of the issuer has been wrongly read as Yogeśvaradevavarman. The inscription has been recently re-edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* (jointly with Mr. M. Venkataramayya).

[2] *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, pp. 130 ff.

[3] An inscription at Hottur in the Dharwar District, dated 1006 A.C., says how the army of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja I invaded the Western Cālukya territory and devastated it 'perpetrating murders of women, children and Brāhmaṇas, seizing (or carrying away) women and overthrowing the order of caste (by committing rape on the women)'. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 74-75; Sewell, *H.I.S.I.*, p. 58). About 1046 A.C. the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja, grandson of Rājarāja I, claims to have captured the queen-mother of Ceylon and cut off her nose (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 71). Rājādhirāja's brother, Rājendra, is said to have captured two Cālukya queens at the battle of Koppam in 1052 A.C. and made them prisoners (*ibid.*, p. 73). His brother, Vīrarājendra, claims in 1064-65 A.C. to have captured in course of a battle the daughter of Cāmuṇḍarāya and wife of Irugayan and cut off her nose (*ibid.*, p. 79).

The recently discovered Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Pṛthvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādevī II, dated in the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era, describe the parentage of the queen in the following verses:

śīt-āṁśu-vaṁśa-nalina-śrī-vikās-aika-bhāsvataḥ
rājñaḥ Svabhāvatuṅgasya Kosal-ādhipateḥ sutā ‖
sutāyāṁ śrī-Yaśovṛddher = yaśo-vṛddhi-vidhāyinī |
śrīman-Nṛttā-mahādevyāṁ kṛta-janma-parigrahā ‖
śrīmat-Kusumahārasya mahādevī maharddhikā |
pṛthvīṁ Pṛthvīmahādevī cira-kālam = apālayat ‖

This shows that Pṛthvīmahādevī, wife of the Bhauma-Kara monarch Śubhākara IV Kusumahāra who issued his Talcher plate in the year 145,[4] was the daughter of the Somavaṁśī king Svabhāvatuṅga of Kosala (South Kosala). There is little doubt that this Svabhāvatuṅga is no other than Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti as known from the inscription under review. Another interesting fact to be remembered in this connection is that, of all the early kings of the Somavaṁśa, who were rulers of Kosala (South Kosala) and granted lands in that country, Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti alone is known to have granted in the ninth year of his reign a village in Dakṣiṇa-Tosala (modern Ganjam-Puri Cuttack region) that formed an integral part of the Bhauma-Kara dominions.[1] This is the village of Candagrāma, modern Chandgan about 32 miles south-east of Cuttack.[2] Again the Baud plates of Pṛthvīmahādevī assert that she ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne as a result of her husband and his younger brother Lalitahāra (Śivakara III who issued his Talcher plates probably in the year 149 [3]) having died without leaving any heir, although we know that two sons of Śivakara III Lalitahāra later ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne.[4] This suggests that Pṛthvīmahādevī and her supporters ignored the claim of the sons of her husband's younger brother and that she usurped the Bhauma-Kara throne probably with her father's help only to be soon dethroned by the rightful claimants of the throne. Thus the grant of a village by the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti *alias* Svabhāvatuṅga in his ninth regnal year in the Bhauma-Kara territory and his daughter's occupation of the Bhauma-Kara throne about the 158th year of the Bhauma-Kara era appear to be connected events. We have referred above to the success of the above Somavaṁśī king against the Bhañjas of Dhṛtipara, who were the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. Under these circumstances, the ninth regnal year of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti *alias* Svabhāvatuṅga does not appear to be far removed from the 158th year of the Bhauma-Kara era. As the ninth year of the reign of Mahāśivagupta I fell near about 980 A.C., the beginning of the era in question may be assigned to a date near about 822 A.C. This suggestion regarding the epoch of the Bhauma-Kara era seems to be supported by the recently discovered Daspalla plates (dated in the year 198 of the Bhauma-Kara era) of Śatrubhañja II who was the grandson's grandson of Raṇabhañja (third quarter of the tenth century) of Dhṛtipura and probably flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century. The astronomical details of the date supplied by this inscription are: year 198, Viṣuva-saṅkrānti, Sunday, Pañcamī. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. III, p. 60), the details would point to the 23rd March, 1029 A.C. In that case, the Bhauma-Kara era probably started from 831 A.C.[5]

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[1] For a note on the interesting problem of the use of the Past and Perfect Tenses for the Present in epigraphic literature, see *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, pp. 183-84.

[2] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 250.

[3] Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 769.

[4] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 32 ff., where the date has been read as the year 141.

The identification of some of the geographical names occurring in the inscription has been suggested above. There are some others which I could not identify.

Text [6]

First Plate

1. Siddham ‖ [7] O(ṁ*) Svasti (‖*) śrī-Vini(nī)tapurāta(rāt) kaṭakāt para(ma*)māhesva(śva)ra-paramabha-
2. ṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Mahābhavagū(gu)ptarājadeva-pā(d-ā*)-nū(nu)dhyāyī | [8]
3. paramamāhesva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramesva(śva)ra-So-

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 351–55.
[2] Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, p. 68.
[3] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 40 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[5] See my paper on the era of the Bhauma-Karas, contributed to *I.H.Q.*
[6] From the original plates and their impressions.
[7] Expressed by symbol.
[8] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

4. makū(ku)latilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-śrī-Mahāśivagū(gu)ptarājadevaḥ kūsa-
5. līḥ[1] Kosaladese(śe) |[2] Sanūlā-viṣayīya-Talakajjagrāma-samvandh[3]-o-
6. ttara-dīś-Āvarīya-nadī-sameta-bhūmiś = catuḥ-śīmay = ākṣipti-
7. vataḥ[4]......[5] Vrā(Brā)hmaṇān = sampūjya vad-viṣayīyaḥ[6]
8. niṣiddha-cāṭa-bhaṭa-preveśa(śā) Kasya |gotraya[7] Ka(Kā)śyap-Āvatsā(ra*)-Naidhru(va*)-prava-
9. rāya |[2] Vādasena[8] -Ma(Mā)dhyandina-śa(śā)kh-ādhyāyī(yi)ne |[2] Mādhvāla[9] -vini(rga*)tāya
10. Kosala-Jalajaḍḍa-vāstavyāya |[2] Kāmadeva-nāmne |[2] Harṣa-naptre |[2] Na-
11. rasihaṁ[10]-sū(su)tāya |[2] (salila-dhārā *)-pū(pu)raḥsaram = ā-candra-tārak-ārkka-kṣiti-sama-kālāya bho-
12. g-ārthaṁ mātā-pito(tro)r = ātmanaś = ca puṇya-yaso(śo)-bhivṛddhaye tāmra-śāsanen = ā-
13. karīkṛtya pratipādī(di)ta(tā) ity = avagatya yathā-dīyamāna-kara-hiraṇya-

Second Plate: First Side

14. bhoga-bhāg-ādī(di)kaṁ |[11] dadadbhī(dbhi)ḥ bhavadbhiḥ sū(su)khena prativastavyam = iti bhāvibhis = ca(ś = ca) bhū-
15. patibhir = ddanti(tti)r = iyam = asmadīyā dharmma-gauravād = asmad-anū(nu)rodhāc = ca |[11] sa-dattir = i-
16. v = āna(nu)pālanīyā | tathā c = oktaṁ dharmma-sā(śā)stre (|| *)[12] Va(Ba)hubhi(r*) = vvasū(su)dhā dattā rājabhiḥ Saga-
17. r-ādibhiḥ |Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ(lam |) Mā bhūd = a-phala-sa(śa)-
18. ṅkā vaḥ |[11] para-datt = eti pārthivāḥ |sva-dattāt = phalam = ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānū(nu)pā-
19. lane|(|2*) Āsphoṭayatti(nti) pitaro valgayatti(nti) pitāmahāḥ (|*) bhūmi-jā(dā)tā kū(ku)le
20. jātaḥ sa nas = trātā bhaviṣyati|(|3*) Ṣaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi svargge mo-
21. dati bhūmidaḥ (|*) ākṣeptā c = ānū(nu)mattā(ntā) ca |[11] dvau tau naraka-gāminau
22. |(|4*) Agner = apatya(ṁ*) prathama(ṁ*) sū(su)varṇṇa(ṁ*) bhū(r*) = vau(vai)ṣṇavi(vī) sūrya-sū(su)tās = ca(ś = ca) gāvaḥ (|*) yaḥ ka(kā)ñca-
23. naṅ = gā(ṁ*) ca mahīñ = ca da[dya(dyā)]d = dattās = trayas = tena bhavatti(nti) lokāḥ|(|5*) Bhūmi(ṁ*) yaḥ pratigṛ-
24. hnā(hṇā)ti yas = ca(ś = ca) bhūmi(ṁ*) prayacchati |ubhau tau pū(pu)ṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gā-

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[1] Read *kuśalī*.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] Laskar reads *samvandhīturadāśānarīya°*. Read *sambaddh-ottara-diśy = Avarīya°*.

[4] The intended reading may be *catuḥsīmasv = ākṣiptivatī* referring to the custom of burying charcoal, husks of grain, etc., for the demarcation of the boundaries (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 345). Laskar reads *kṣiprevataḥ*.

[5] Here six or seven letters had been incised and were then erased.

[6] Read *tad-viṣayīya°* before *Brāhmaṇān*. Laskar reads *cadviṣayīyaḥ*.

[7] Read *Kāśyapa-gotrāya*.

[8] Read *Vājasaneya*.

[9] Laskar reads *Mādhvīla*.

[10] Read *°siṁha* which is Laskar's reading.

[11] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[12] Laskar omits the imprecatory and benedictory verses in lines 16–35.

25. minau | (| 6*) Taḍāgānā(ṁ*) sahasreṇa vājapeya-sa(śa)tena ca | gavāṁ koṭī-pradā-
26. nena bhūmi-harttā na surdhyati[1] | (| 7*) Harati hārayed = yas = tu manda-vu(bu)ddhis = tamo-vṛtaḥ |
27. suva(ba)ddho vāruṇyai(ṇai)ḥ pāsaiḥ[2] tiryag-yoniṣu gacchati ‖ (8*)

Second Plate: Second Side.

28. Suvarṇṇam = ekā(kaṁ) gām = ekā(ṁ*) bhūmer = apy = arddham = aṅgulaṁ(lam |) haran = narakam = āyāti yāvad = ā-
29. hūti-saṁplavaṁ(vam) ‖ (9*) Sva-dattām = para-dattām = vā-(ttāṁ vā) yo hareta vasundharāṁ(rām) | sa viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛmi(r*) = bhūtv[ā]
30. pitṛbhis = saha pacyate | (| 10*) Āditya Varuṇo Viṣṇu Vra(r = Bra)hmā Somo Hū(Hu)tāsa(śa)naḥ (| *)
31. Sū(Śū)lapāṇis = ca(ś = ca) bhagavān = abhinandanti bhūmidaḥ(dam) | (| 11*) Sāmānyo = yan = dharmma-se-
32. tur = nṛpāṇā(ṁ*) kāle kala(kāle) pālanīyo bhavadbhiḥ (| *) sarvva-(rvvā)n = etāna(tān) bha(bhā)vinaḥ pā-
33. rthiv-end[r]āna(ndrān) bhu(bhū)yo bhu(bhū)yo yācate Rāmabhadraḥ | (| 12*) Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-
34. vinda(ndu)-lolāṁ śriyam = anucintya manuṣya-jīvitañ = ca sakalam = idam = u-
35. dāhṛtañ = ca vu(bu)ddhā(ddhvā) nahi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayo rvvi(vi)lopyāḥ ‖ (13*) paramamāhe-
36. sva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramesva(śva)ra-Somakū(ku)lati-
37. laka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-śrīmad-Yayātidevasya vijaya-rājye sāmva-(saṁva)-
38. tsar-āṣa(ṣṭa)me Ma(Mā)rggaśira(ro)-māse śukla-pakṣe trayodaśyām = aṅke Samva(Saṁva)t 8
39. Mārgga-śudi 13 likhitam = idaṁ tāmva(mra)-śāsanaṁ mā(ma)-hāsandhivigrahi-rāṇa-
40. ka-śrī-Dhāradattasy = āvagatena |[3] utthitāsanī(ni)-śrī[4]-Uccha-vaṇāga-sa-

Third Plate

41. makṣeṇ[5]-Āllava-sutena | utki(tkī)rṇṇa(ṁ*) vijñānī(ni)-Mādhavena Vāsū-suten = eti | Samvā(mpa)-
42. do jalaja-parṇṇa-jal-ābhā jīvitaṁ maraṇa-santati-saṁsthaṁ(stham |) bhoga-bhuktī(kti)r = acirā-[6]
43. ya vilokyāḥ(kya) kīrttayo nṛpatibhir = na vilopyā[7] iti | So = bhu-(bhūn =) nṛpaḥ So-
44. ma-kul-āvja(bja)-bhānuḥ Svabhāvatuṅgo nija-pauruṣeṇa | yaḥ Kosalā-
45. pālana-kaumud[8]-endur = vijitya Cau(Cai)dyān = vitatāna lakṣmiḥ[9] | (| 15*) Rāmā-ha-

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[1] Read *śudhyati.*

[2] Read *pāśais = tiryak°.*

[3] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Laskar reads °*dattasmā°.*

[4] Read *śry-Utsavanāga.*

[5] Laskar reads °*n[illegible]amphen-Ā°.*

[6] Laskar reads °*ra[illegible]ināṁ pra°.*

[7] Better read *vilopyāḥ* ‖ (14*) *iti* |

[8] Read *kaumud-īndu°.* Laskar reads *pālanā-kaumudindu.*

[9] Read *lakṣmīm.* Laskar reads *lakṣyāḥ.* The metre of the verse is *Rathoddhatā.*

46. rā(ṁ*)ś = Cedipa-vaddhaṭān[1] sa bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-Peḍi-prabhṛti(tī)n (upetya
|*) muṇḍaṁ nika-[2]
47. ṇy = āhita-śarvva-rāmaḥ |[3] sa-Lakṣmaṇo Rāma iv = āpta-se-
48. tuḥ |(| 16) Tasmāta(smāt) sū(su)to[4] Viṣṇur = iv = ājaniṣṭa |[3] sa
Durga[5]rājam[6] = vighaṭa-pratā-
49. paṁ(paṁ |) tṛṇāya Caïdyaṁ[7] vata manyamāno dagdhā[8] Ḍāhālā[9]
vijanā-[10]
50. ñ = cakāra |o |(17*)

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[1] Read *baddhapaṭṭān*. Laskar reads *śidepabaddha-bhaṭān*. Some syllables are omitted in this as well as in the following foot of the stanza. The metre of this verse and of the following two verses is *Upajāti*.

[2] The intended reading (as suggested to me by Professor Satya Kinkar Mookerjee of the Asutosh College, Calcutta) seems to be *nikṛty = āhṛta-sarvva°*.
Laskar reads *mṛkuti-kalpāntita-śakhaṁ*.

[3] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[4] Laskar reads *sute viṣurivājakṣiṣṭa*.

[5] Laskar reads *dṛga*.

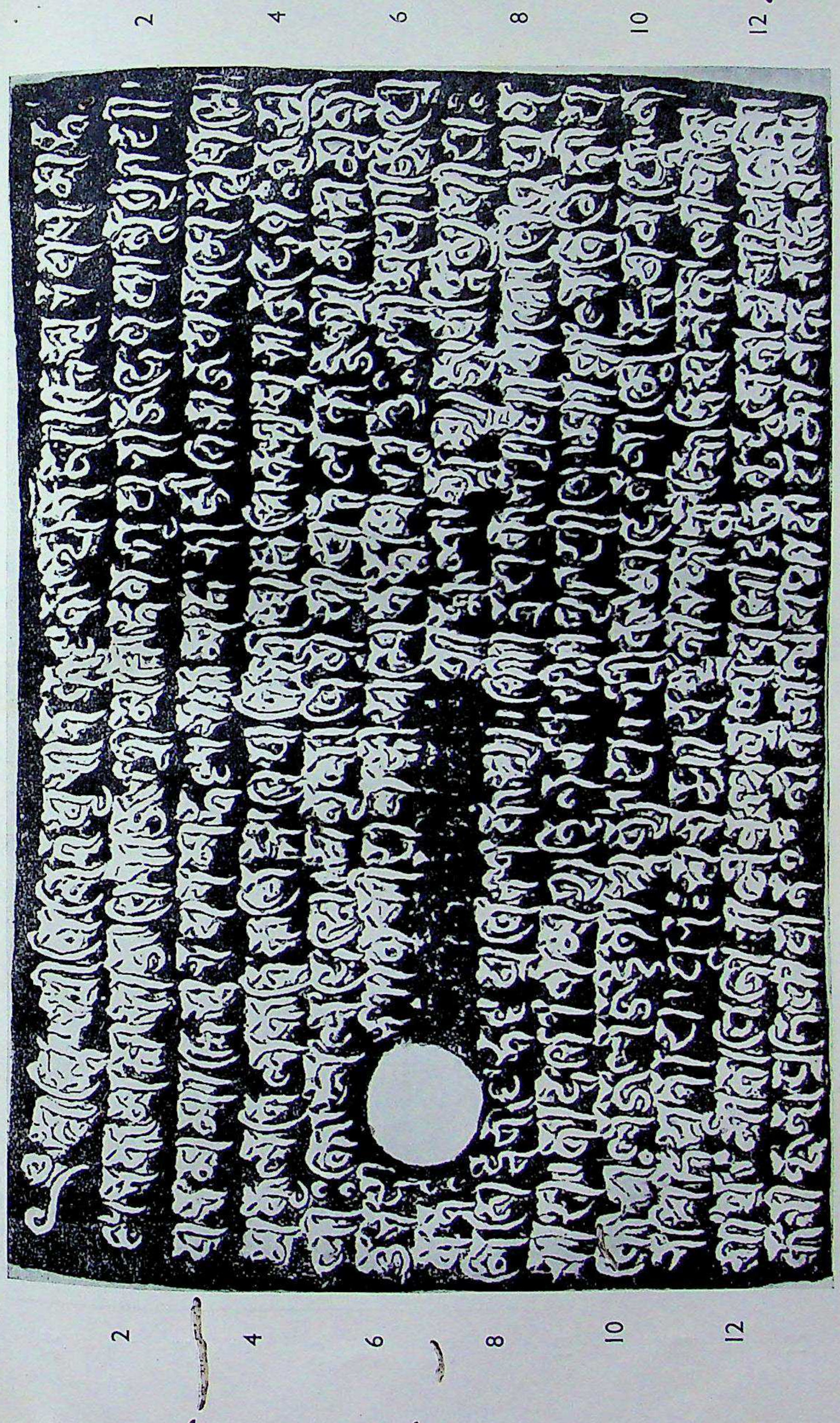
[6] Read *°rājaṁ vikaṭa°*. The *akṣara* read as *tā* in *pratāpaṁ* looks more like *lā*. Laskar reads *praṇīpa*.

[7] Read *Caidyaṁ*. Laskar reads *jaīṣu*.

[8] Read *dagdhvā*. Laskar reads *daścā*.

[9] Read *Ḍahālāṁ*. Laskar reads *Ḍāhāṇā*.

[10] Laskar reads *virjanā°*.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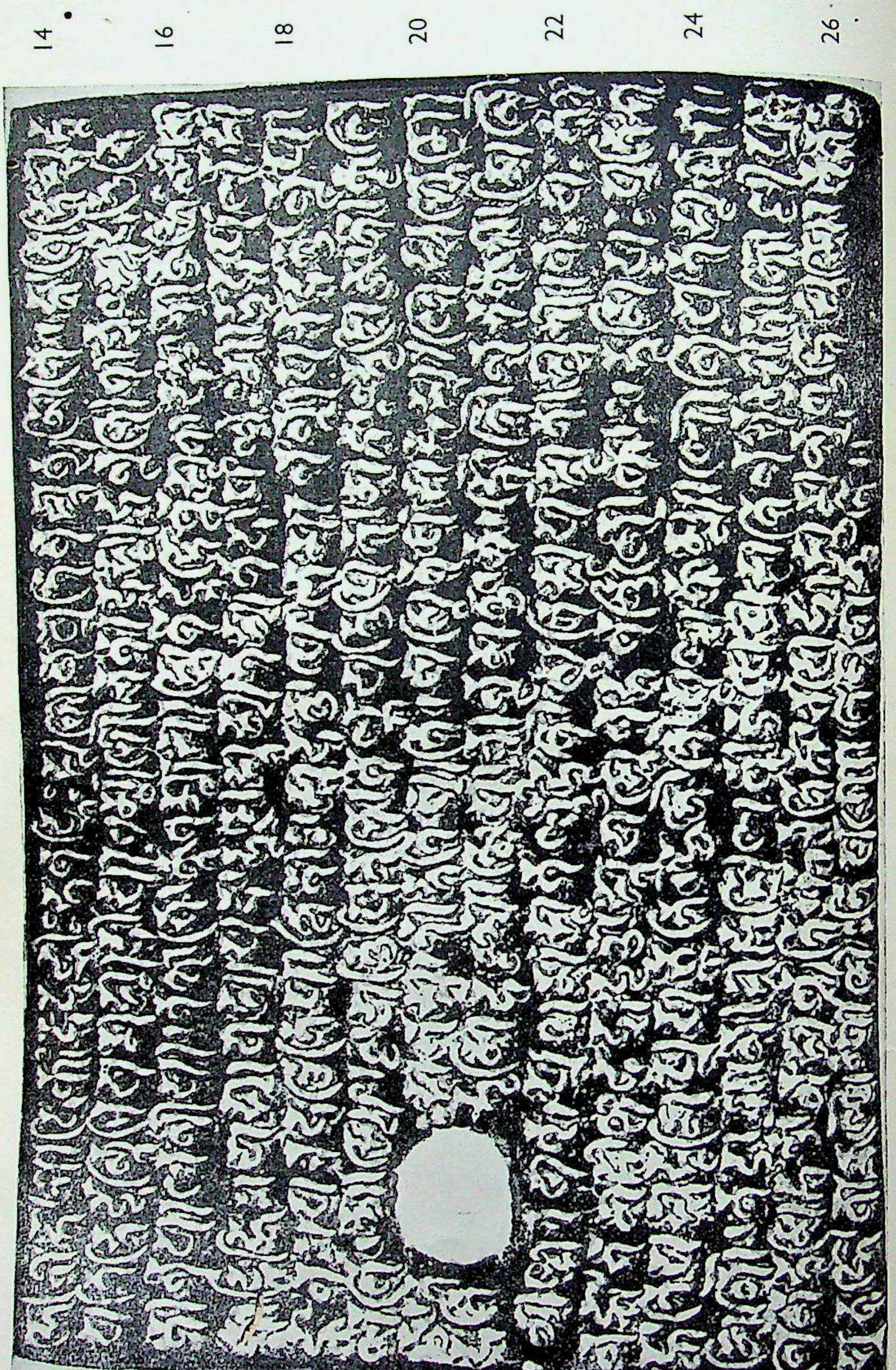
First Plate ; Second side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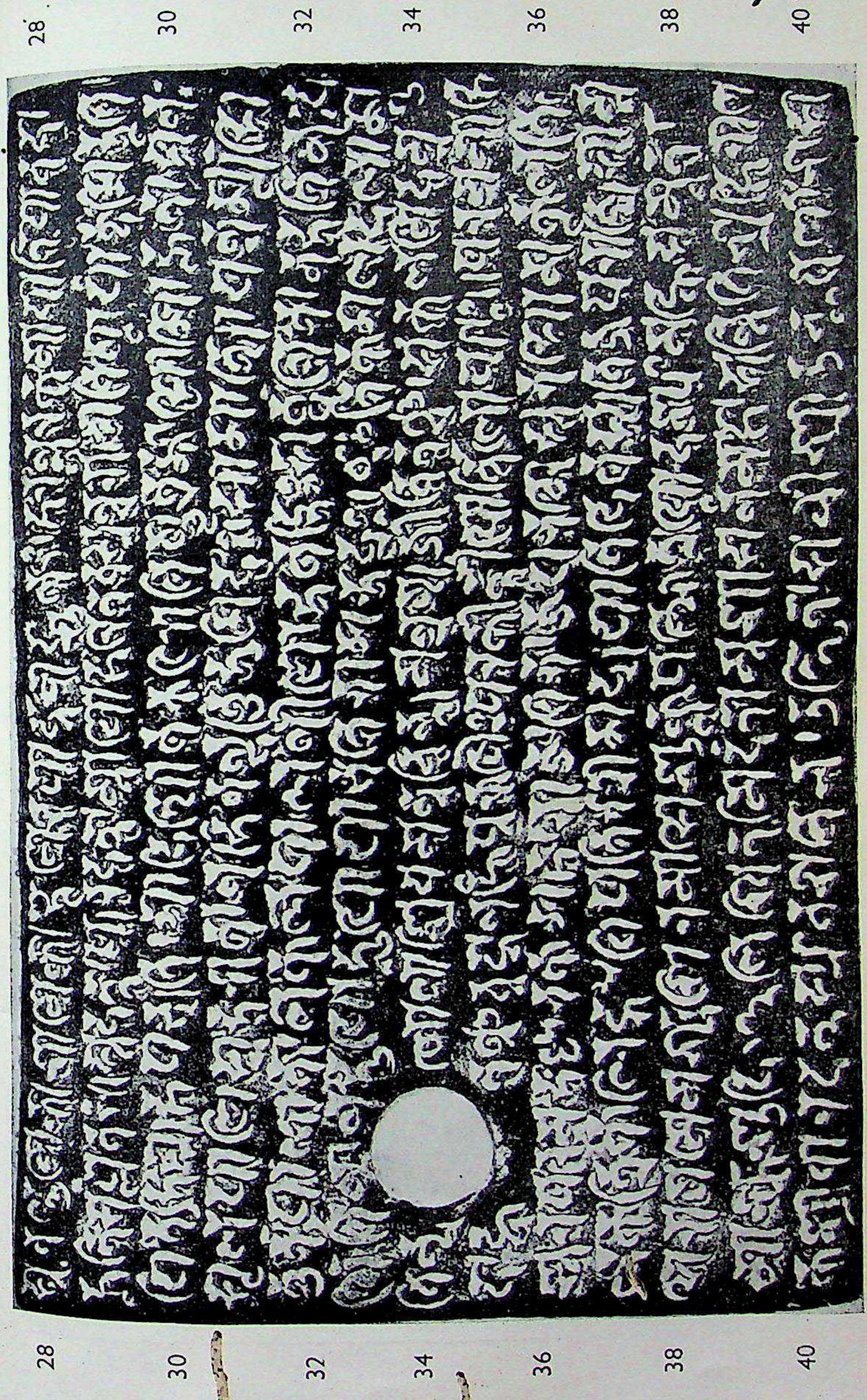
Second Plate; First side.

PLATE III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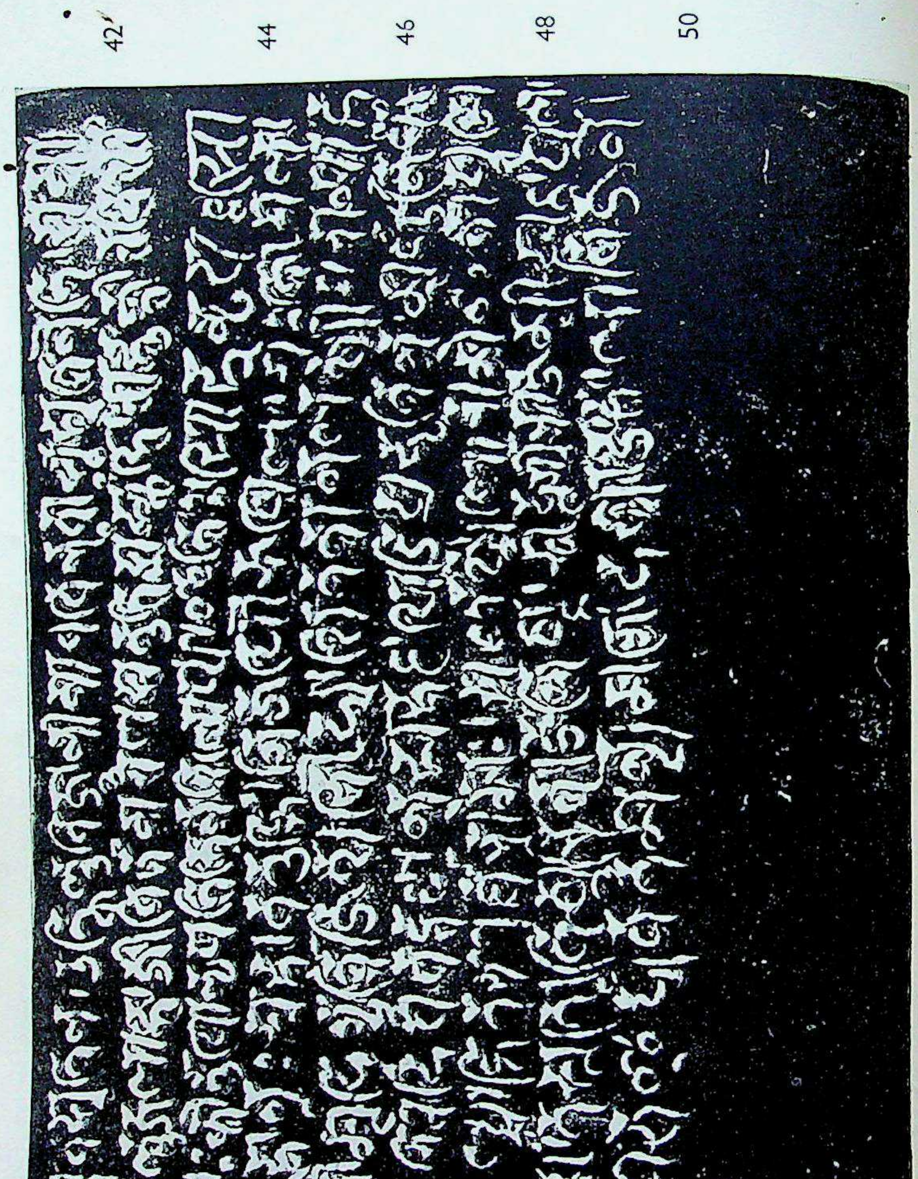
Second Plate ; Second side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Third Plate: First side

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THE ROMANCE OF HĪR AND RĀÑJHĀ

(With a note on Wāris Shāh)

By Hira Lall Chopra

(*Paper received on 11th March, 1953.*)

The love-romance of Hīr and Rāñjhā starts in the district of Sargōdhā where in the beginning of the sixteenth century in the village of Takht Hazārā there lived a very opulent and well-to-do zamindar with the name of Maujū Chowdhary. He belonged to the Rāñjhā clan of Rājpūt Jāṭs. He had eight sons and the youngest was known as Dhedū, who later on became famous with his clan name of Rāñjhā. Rāñjhā being the youngest and the handsomest of all was fondled by his father, which made him ease-loving and delicate-natured. He paid more attention to the playing of the flute than to working in the fields. His brothers and sisters-in-law, after the death of his father, taunted him as a worthless fellow and he determined to bid farewell to his village.

Leaving Takht Hazārā he reached a spot on the banks of the river Chenāb, where on the other side were visible hutments of Jhaṅg, a town well fortified by Syāls, a famous tribe of proud Rājpūts. Chūchak, father of Hīr, belonged to this tribe. Rāñjhā, on crossing the river, accosted Hīr, the most beautiful damsel of the place, and fell in love with her. He accepted the job of looking after Chūchak's buffaloes and every day took them to the riverside, where Hīr managed to meet him stealthily. The flute-playing of Rāñjhā had a rapturous effect on Hīr and both came nearer each other and indulged in certain promises for their future life.

Kaidō, the uncle of Hīr, witnessed this love-romance one day and advised his brother Chūchak to arrange for the marriage of Hīr. Saidā, a scion of the Kheṛā clan of Rājpūts of Rangpur, was chosen a match for her and the marriage was duly solemnized in spite of protests from Hīr. Rāñjhā, stricken with pangs of love, came out of Jhaṅg and went to a place named Ṭillā Bālnāth near Jhelum, where he was initiated as a yogi and got his ears perforated. After he lived there for some time, the love of Hīr made him restless and took him into the streets of Rangpur with a begging bowl in his hands and his head clean-shaven. He met Hīr there and succeeded in kidnapping her with the connivance of Sahtī, sister of Saidā. Kheṛās followed the lovers and caught hold of them, but they managed to escape from their clutches. Now they were left only two choices, either to decide about their future themselves or to live a peaceful life with the permission of Hīr's parents. The latter course was recommended by Hīr. Both of them reached Jhaṅg. Pure-hearted Chūchak agreed to re-marry his daughter with Rāñjhā, but his brother Kaidō again stepped in and advised Chūchak to ask Rāñjhā to go to his native place Takht Hazārā to bring the marriage party and in the meantime to get rid of Hīr by poisoning her. He got his design executed.

When Rāñjhā came to know of it, he repeatedly prayed to God that if Hīr could not be revivified, he may also be allowed to follow suit. Not long after, his prayer was granted and he was re-united with Hīr in heaven and thus the tragic tale of love and failure in life came to an end.

This tale has been told by different authors with slight variations. The most famous and widely accepted of all the writers and the tales is Wāris Shāh and his version of the story, though many preceded him in this venture. (A note on Wāris Shāh is appended at the end of this paper.) The first known writer of this tale is Dāmōdar, an Arōṛā, by caste and resident of J͟haṅg, the native town of Hīr. He wrote the story in the language of the land, which was then known as Hindi and now as Pañjabī. It appears that he is the originator of the story, who fabricated the whole texture by his sheer imagination. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji kindly tells me that according to some scholars this romance seems to have been based on the Greek tale of Hero and Leander, where Hero is the male hero and Leander, the beloved. According to Indian traditions women are the lovers and it is therefore that Hīr, the lady-love has been retained as the hero and Leander has been changed to Rāñj͟hā with the early Iranian and Indian change of *l* to *r* in the name. It seems that the first compilers of this Panjabi story with a possible Greek origin added a few situations from ancient popular Hindu tales and in the Moghal period connected them together, evolving a new story in Muslim garb with Muslim nomenclature and technique.

Dāmōdar's tale became so popular in the whole locality that a tomb for Hīr was found necessary to be built up somewhere and the banks of river Chenāb were considered to be the fittest venue. Hīr and Rāñj͟hā were considered to be national heroes, who sacrificed themselves for the sake of the realization of Truth and consummation of true love. Fairs were held on the mausoleum and people made offerings over it. The land on the banks of Chenāb was owned by Syāls and they got the offerings on the grave of Hīr apportioning 1/4th of it to Dāmōdar and his progeny. This fact is verified by Paṇḍit Mansā Rām Munshī, who rendered the story in Persian in 1744 A.D. after hearing it from one Rājā Rām Khatrī of Bherā, who had it from the descendants of Dāmōdar, when he himself visited J͟haṅg on an official errand. It is alleged by Dāmōdar that he got the advance vision of the happenings of the whole story in a dream and then he was with the players at the time of its enactment. This information is supplied by the above-mentioned Paṇḍit Mansā Rām Munshī of Siālkōṭ, who wrote the narration in Persian prose interspersed by passages of poetry and occasional quotations from Hafiz, Jami and Saadi. He wrote the book at the request of one Lālā Sāhib Loṛindā Mal of Multān.

According to Dāmōdar the whole story of Hīr and Rāñj͟hā spins round the flute, a very popular instrument of music in the Panjab. Dāmōdar mentions about the flute as under:—

(1) آکھن من لیا بھي دھیدو ونجھلي پھیروگائي
شیدنه برندے چیتے موني سبھه تماشے آئي
(2) تاں رانجھے ھتھه ونجھلي کیتي کھیاں سُراں الایُاں
(3) للت راگ وچ وا ھي ونجھلي پِیراں چنگي بھائي

The flute reminds us of the stories associated with Sri Krishna of Bhāgavata Purāna where Gopis and cows run after the rapturous music of Krishna. Here Hīr's friends and buffaloes get enamoured of it. In the village, in the boat, on the river banks, in *belās* and various other places, Rāñj͟hā finds his flute handy to serve his purpose and the magic of it is recognized by all writers of the story.

Next in importance are the five spiritual guides. Rāñjhā starts out with the intention of having a pilgrimage of 5 pīrs towards Multān. Rāñjhā, says:—

جارت کر آواں پیراں دي رهساں اتے جائي

Five Pīrs are any five spiritual teachers, who may be contemplated by any author. They differ with different authors. According to some they are (1) Khwājā Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiār Kākī, (2) Khwājā Muīn-ud-Dīn Chishtī, (3) Sheikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliā, (4) Nasīr-ud-Dīn Abul Khair Abdullāh bin Al-Baizāvī, and (5) Sultān Nasīr-ud-Dīn Mahmūd. But according to Mansā Rām, they are (1) Pīr Dastgīr, (2) Makhdūm Bahā-ud-Dīn, (3) Shāh Rukn-ud-Dīn, (4) Shaikh Farīd-ud-Dīn, and (5) Sultān Sakhī Sarwar. The enumeration according to Mansā Rām seems to be more probable due to the fact that all these Pīrs lived in and near Multān, where Rāñjhā is alleged to have gone for the desired pilgrimage. These Five Pīrs give five things to Rāñjhā, and they are as under: (1) Black blanket, (2) Wooden bowl, (3) Flute, (4) Club, and (5) Hīr, on their first meeting with Rāñjhā in the boat when he embarks for a pilgrimage to Multān.

There are certain popular superstitions, which are repeated in all the different versions and which exist even up to now in the Punjab. They are: To sneeze is a bad omen, as also to sit on a stranger's cot; To place one cotton-ball over the other is a good augury; To consider Thursday to be auspicious for starting any work, and To have a pudding of rice and boiled milk; To attach importance to dreams; To kiss the implement to be used; The auspiciousness of black dress; A lover's presence turns everything into auspicious; To fly crows and to draw lines in expectation; Red colour a symbol of real love; To offer sacrifice; Pattings by the teacher whose remainders in food are taken by the disciple and relished; Auspiciousness of a jar of curd-whey (*lassī*); The efficaciousness of the blessing or the curse of faqīrs; Moll—a herb—brings the traveller back to the starting-point, etc. etc.

Frequent references to Sītā Rām, Rādhe Krishna, Gopī Chand and Bhartrīharī suggest that the story has been woven together by getting pieces from ancient Hindu epics and traditions, e.g., Sītā Rām is from Rāmāyana, Rādhe Krishna from Mahābhārata, becoming a yogi from the story of Gopī Chand and the appearance of the snake is from the tale of Nala Damyantī. The references are as under:—

Sītā Rām—جیسي پریت دسرتهه ست نندن دوجي سیا آهي

Rādhā Krishna—جیهي پریت نند کے نندن ار برکهه بهان کي جائي

Gopī Chand and Bhartrīharī—جوگ لیا گوپي چند بهرتري مَیں گریب کے هوئي

After Dāmōdar, Muqbil wrote it in Panjabi. He thus brings the tale to a tragic end:

ایتهے رانجهے نوں بهائیاں دفن کیتا اوتهے هیر سیال بهي هوئي پوري

Muqbil was followed among others by Gurdās and Minnat. Then Shāh Fakhrullāh Lāhauri Āfrīn wrote it in Persian poetry in the times of Farrukh Sīyar (1713–1719 A.D.) as he says in his book:

شهنشاهِ فرمان دهِ بحر و بر   خدیو جهان بخشِ فرخ سیر
ز تاثیر این عهدِ فرخ سرشت   که اضداد را باهم آمد بهشت

According to Āfrīn, Pandits among others were also sent out to different places to find out a suitable match for Hīr:

فرستاد دلّالۀ هر طرف گهروار اسرار این نه صدف
برهمن نژادان آئینه صاف ز حجام هم فرقۀ موشگاف
سبکدست در نظم خوش گوهران به نیرنگیٔ چرخِ افسون گران
دویدند با برق هم ترکتاز چو خورشید در شش جهت دیده‌باز
بهر جا تسلّي طراز آمدی تفحص تهي‌دست باز آمدی
چو نورِ نظر جسته از هر سواد نظرشان سوئ رنگپور اوفتاد

Āfrīn refers to Panj Pīrs:

ز کافور کای سینه چاکان کنند مسیحائي دردناکان کنند
بسر وقتِ او ناگزیر آمده مددگارِ او پنج پیر آمده
دو مخدوم و یک شیخ و یک شاهِ ناز مدار آن شهِ پنجمین سرفراز
بر آن دل زده چاره‌ساز آمدند حواس ز جا رفته باز آمدند
چو رانجهن نظر کرد بیدست رنج که آمد خُدا داده‌اش پنج گنج
بپاهائ آن هر یکی بحرِ جود بیفتاد چون قطره یکسر سجود
پی هم سه نوبت عطا کرد شِیر قدح به قدح نذرِ آن پنج پیر
کرمها نمودند بنواختند بدست دُعائش سرافراختند

Āfrīn closes the story by seeing them both proceeding to Mecca for a pilgrimage:

سوارِ طرب با دلِ مبتهج پیاده بدینگونه کردند حج
چو گشتند سیر از تماشائ هند ز برِّ عرب تا شبستانِ سند

This poetic version of the story exists only in the manuscript form, two copies of which are in the Asiatic Society Library.

Then comes Mansā Rām's narration in Persian prose interspersed by Persian couplets by himself as also by other famous poets like Saadi, Hafiz, Jami and 'Attār. The style of Mansā Rām is quite ornate. He is very descriptive and gives details of everything in the wake of Dāmōdar, about whom he refers as under:

دمودر نامی خوش کلامی هندي‌خوانی تازه بیانی دوهره بندی
شعری بلندی راست‌گو صفاجو ساکن جهنگ سیال در شعرِ هندي صاحبِ
کمال مترجم ترجمان در قسم داستان *

He elucidates 16 *shringārs* and 36 *Rāgās* and *Raginīs* exhibiting a full comprehension of the topic dealt with by him. About *shringārs* he writes:

بهرِ توصیف حسنِ آن دلدار   ترجمه کرده شانزده سنگار
اولاً تیل پائی او بوسید   نرم دل کرد گردِ او گردید
باز مالیده بدنِ او مالید   گرميِ حُسن نرمیش بخشید
آب از غسل آبرو برده   شانه در زلفِ او زبان کرده
کشته از دست و پاش رنگِ حنا   سینه پوش سینه پوش حنا
مقنعهٔ بر رُخش چو مه رَخشان   گردِ آن مه هلال شد تابان
در کمر کرد سلکِ در شهوار   پیرهن در بدن همه زرتار
کحلِ بینش ز دیده اش دیده   رنگِ دندان سوادِ مالیده
برگِ پان سرخرو ز سرخيِ لب   جان سپاري نمود بهرِ طرب
قشقهٔ صندلین به پیشاني   جلوهٔ آفتابِ نوراني
درِ معني به بیني اش تابان   شعلهٔ برق بر رُخش رخشان
بر جبینش چو قشقهٔ زرتاب   جلوهٔ آفتابِ عالمتاب
همچو طوطي دهن شکر گفتار   در خرامش چو کبک خوش رفتار
دیدهٔ او چو دیدهٔ آهو   جمله پابندِ حلقهٔ گیسو
خنده لب غنچه را فرو بسته   قهقهه او شکر ز لب جسته
ختم گردید شانزده سنگار   جلوه‌گر شد بچهرهٔ دلدار

About 36 *rāgās* and *rāginīs* he quotes a long poem composed by one Mohammad Khushāl Khān Qāqshāl Qādrī of Qādirābād near Hazārā. The poem begins with the verse:—

کنم ابتدا راگ هم رنگِ او   بدان سي و شش راگ آهنگ او

and gives details about all its complications.

There are exquisite pieces of prose in the book. The following quotation is from the scene when Hīr's mother on the eve of Hīr's marriage brings her *hena* for her hands and Hīr while refusing it says to her mother in the following words full of grace and diction:

مادرِ هیر دست برنجنِ مروارید که روزِ شگون بدستِ عروس مي‌بندند آورد و خواست که در دستِ هیر بر بندد - هیر که ازین بند دلبند داشت در بندِ آن دلبند نه شد و این بند را بندِ خود دانسته به مادر بر گفت که اگر مرا بند بند کني و در بند کني و چون بند جامهٔ تن بیاویزي درین بند نیایم که دلبندِ من یکیست *

When captured by the Kheṛās, Hīr and Rāṅjhā are brought to the court to stand their trial, Hīr openly admits:

عشقِ بی‌پروا چه میداند زیان و سود را
شعله یکسان مي‌شمارد چوبِ بید و عود را

باده نوشان را غني از آتشِ دوزخ چه باک
شعله شاخِ گل بود مُرغانِ آتشخوار را

عشق را کعبه و کنشت یکی است   عشق را روی خوب و زشت یکی است
خیر و شر در ازل رقم زده است   چه توان کرد سرنوشت یکی است
یفعل الله ما یشا چو ازوست   بندہ را دوزخ و بهشت یکی است

Mansā Rām is followed by Syed Wāris Shāh, who is dealt with here separately and then comes Syed Fazal Shāh of Nawān Koṭ near Lahore, who wrote in pedantic style in Panjabi and is not very popular. Rai Bahadur Kanhyā Lāl Hindī treats it in Persian verse. He was an engineer in the times of Ranjīt Singh and later on was in the service of the British and he wrote two monumental works dealing with the detailed histories of the Panjab and Lahore. Fazal Shāh and Kanhyā Lāl Hindi lived in the nineteenth century.

WĀRIS SHĀH.

If somebody asks for the most famous poet in the Panjabi language, there is one and only one answer and that is Wāris Shāh. Wāris Shāh holds the same position in Panjabi, which Shakespeare has in English and Kālīdās in Sanskrit. Young people think it a climax in romantic stories and the old generation derives special pleasure in Wāris Shāh's explanation of different verities of life. Sūfīs with their ordinary skill and extraordinary effort found out some traces of Divine knowledge and mysticism in it. The poetry of Wāris Shāh is not specially attached to any one group but it is connected with all aspects of Panjab's agricultural life. Villagers are shown tilling their fields and dividing their lands, some Maulvi is preaching in a mosque and some Qāzī is solemnizing a marriage and the Paṇḍit is giving some astrologically auspicious moment for its celebration, marriage-party is in preparation and somewhere there is a death scene, the boatmen are rowing their boats and the cowherds are looking to their flocks. There are some bickerings in the community and at some places some subtle issues of love and beauty are discussed. Worldly people are shown engrossed in their mundane problems and Sādhūs, Mahātmās and mendicants are shown preaching to their disciples. In short the story of Hīr and Rāṅjhā as depicted by Wāris Shāh is a pictorial album of coloured pictures of the life in the Panjab with the different views, which can be of interest to everybody. It is encyclopaedic in its comprehension and above all religious, communal and parochial barriers. It is a poetry of the human heart, universal in its outlook giving out a flavour of sympathy for human beings everywhere.

Wāris Shāh was born in 1699 at Jaṇḍiālā Sher Khān in the district of Sheikhūpurā. After the preliminary education in his own village, he went to Maulānā Hāfiz Ghulām Murtazā at Kasūr for advanced learning as Wāris Shāh himself gives out this information in the following verse:

وارث شاہ وسنیک جنڈیالڑے دا شاگرد مخدوم قصور دا اے

(Wāris Shāh is inhabitant of Jandiālā and a pupil of Makhdūm of Kasūr). He was very well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and various idioms of these languages occur in his poetry quite naturally. The head-lines of different sections are invariably in Persian, e.g.,

مقولہ شاعر ۔ غصہ شدن جوگي با سهتي - بیان دادن کھیڑیاں پیش قاضي ۔

کلامِ رانجھا با هیر etc., etc.

There is a love episode in the life of Wāris Shāh which is said to be responsible for the composition of this romantic tale. It is said that Wāris Shāh lived for some time in a village named Thaṭṭā Jāhad near Pāk Pattan and fell in love with a lady named Bhāg Bharī. The villagers knowing about it, gave a good thrashing to Wāris Shāh and compelled him to leave the village.

The book was written in 1764 by Wāris Shāh at an advanced age. Many authors have written the story in Persian, Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi, but none could equal him, not to say of excelling him. This tale was very popular and Inshā, a famous Urdu poet, testifies to its pathos in the following verse:

سنایا رات کو قصہ جو هِیر رانجھے کا تو اهلِ درد کو پنجابیوں نے لوٹ لیا

Wherever Wāris Shāh describes Jāṭs, he employs their own language and when women are brought in, he speaks in their tongue. He is the master of all the various arts, he describes in the story and his description is so true and natural that only a master-mind can do it. Wāris Shāh's poetry has no special philosophy. He is only an observer of the oddities of this world and the various aspects of human life, as he, as a yogi, says to Sahtī:

سن سہتیے ایس جہان اُتے رب کئي پسار پساردانی
نال قدرت خواهش اپني دے رنگارنگ دیاں صورتاں دهاردانی

(Listen Sahtī, God manifests Himself in this world in various ways and forms.)

At some places his language and expressions are so gripping that parallel passages are difficult to be found in any literature, e.g.,

هیر آکهدي جوگیا جھوٹھہ بولیں کون رُٹھڑے یار ملاوندائي
ایسا کوئي نہ مِلیا مَیں ڈھونڈ تهکي جیهڑا گیاں نوں موڑ لیاوندائي

(Hīr says to Yogi that it is difficult to come across one who can re-unite the separated lovers.)

It is said that when Wāris Shāh read his composition to his teacher, he remarked that very precious pearls of Divine Knowledge and Spiritual Realization have been strung together in jute-thread. To give the simile of jute-thread to the Panjabi tongue may or may not be true, but that the writings of Wāris Shāh are precious pearls, there is no doubt.

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BILINGUAL COINS OF MAHMŪD OF GHAZNI—A RE-STUDY

By A. K. Bhattacharyya

(*Paper received on 3rd March, 1953*)

The coins of Maḥmūd of Ghazni struck in India with Arabic and Sanskrit legends on obverse and reverse respectively show a number of varieties in so far as the legends, the dates and the lettering and its arrangement are concerned. Considering the varieties in the Sanskrit legend and the dates, on the reverse, they fall mainly into two classes. The British Museum collection of these coins as catalogued by S. Lane-Poole[1] affords examples of both these varieties (Nos. 505–509 in one group and Nos. 510–514 in the other).

A specimen of the first variety was acquired for the collection of the Indian Museum in 1929, wherein the Sanskrit legends were read as follows:[2]

Rev. area: *avyaktam = eka*[*ṁ*]
Muhammada (*a*)
vatāra nṛipa
ti Mahamuda

margin: (*avyaktīya*) *nāme ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ*
hata mahamudapure saṁvati 418

The Arabic legend on the obverse can be read as follows:

Obv. area:

القادر
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله بالله
نظام الدين
ابو القسم

margin:

بسم الله ضرب (؟) هذ الدرهم بمحمود پور سنه ثمان عشرة و اربعمايه

Commenting on this coin the Late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit read[3] the marginal legend on the reverse in Sanskrit as *Avyaktīya*(-)*nāme hato*—struck in the name of God, being a translation in Sanskrit of بسم الله ضرب. The improved reading of the Rao Bahadur here as also for the next word as: *Mahamūdapure* can be accepted as correct.

So far as the Arabic legend on the obverse is concerned, it conforms to the reading on the first variety, e.g. No. 505, of the British Museum with this difference that there is a *ḍamma* above as in No. 507 of that group.

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[1] S. Lane-Poole: The coins of the Mohammadan Dynasties in the British Museum, Classes III–X, London, 1876, pp. 149–51.
[2] Arch. Survey of India, Annual Reports for 1929-30, p. 198.
[3] Journal of the R.A.S.B., Vol. II, 1936, No. 3, Numis. Num., p. 29N.

A specimen of the second type which came to me for examination recently has the obverse area as in No. 506 of the British Museum Catalogue. The obverse margin reads:

[بسم الله] هذ الدرهم [بمحمود پور] سنة تسع عشرة و اربعماية

This marginal legend is practically a mixture of the marginal legends of Nos. 505 and 510 with the notable omission of the word ضرب after the expression بسم الله with the date 419 A.H.

The reverse of this coin supplies us with the most interesting part of the marginal legend in Sanskrit which remains so far not fully explained. The British Museum coin No. 510 [1] to which this specimen mostly conforms as to its type, has the legend (as read by Lane-Poole):

'*ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ Mahamūdapura ghaṭe tatā Jikīyera saṁvatī 419*'.

Rao Bahadur Dikshit [2] gave his suggested reading of the above thus:

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ Mahamūdapuraghaṭe hata(*o*) *Jināyana saṁvatī 419.*

Although the reading of the word *hato* above gives a sensible meaning, viz., that of 'striking (coin)', the suggestion is not warranted by the actual letters readable on the coins. Further, to read the era (*Samvat*) as Jināyana (lit. movement of the Jina) to indicate the era of the Flight of the Prophet, i.e. the Hijra era, is indeed going too far. Jina (lit. a Conqueror) stands for the Conqueror (of the eight-fold *Karmans*) in Jainism where the word is accepted as denoting the Jaina Tirthankaras. In fact, Al-Biruni uses the term to denote the Buddha. Although the fourth letter of this word is to be read as *na* (न), the knowledge of Sanskrit that was made use of in the Sanskritization of the Arabic legends would hardly have tolerated such a suggestion. In fact, in the legend in the area on these coins, the term used for the Prophet of Islam is *avatāra*.

On the other hand, the legend clearly reads *ṭi* (टि) after *gha* (घ) while the preceding letter is definitely *re* (रे) and not *ra* (र), so that the legend in these portions must be read:

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ(*ḥ*) *Mahamūdapure ghaṭita*(*ḥ*).

Now the word *ghaṭitaḥ* (lit. effected or fashioned) as used here must have the same meaning as *hataḥ* in the other variety, i.e. in the sense of being 'struck' or 'minted'. The use of the term *ghaṭitaḥ* in this sense of 'striking' or 'incising' is vouched for from very early times in Indian epigraphic and other records. The 14th Rock Edict of Asoka has this use of the word as early as the 3rd century B.C.[3] The first to read this part of the legend correctly was Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph.D., whose reading was published [4] as far back as 1943.

Lane-Poole's reading *jikīyera* (जिकीयेर) is meaningless and the fourth letter here is definitely *na* (न) and not *ra* (र), so that the remaining portion seems to read:

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[1] S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

[2] J.R.A.S.B., Vol. II, 1936, *loc. cit.*

[3] Inscriptions of Asoka, 14th R.E. cf. *Na cha sarvam sarvata ghaṭitam* (Girnar) (p. 57 of Bhandarkar's edition).

[4] Journal of the Num. Society of India, Vol. V, pt. II, pp. 155f.

Tājikīyena saṁvatī(ti) 419.

The use of the word Tājikīya as the name of the era referred to is singularly appropriate. There is no doubt that the era referred to here is the Hijra era of which the year 419 is the date of the issue of these coins, both according to the Arabic legend on the obverse and the Sanskrit legend on the reverse. Now, the word *Tāzīk* (تازیک) from *Tāzī* (تازی) meaning Arabic, denotes [1] 'one of Arab blood, born and brought up in Persia'. This word in India came to signify at a still later age the Arabic science of astrology. This is most probably due to the fact that the science of astrology as also astronomy was one of those subjects in which the early Muhammadan scholars who visited India showed keen interest so much so that after the lapse of several centuries works on these subjects translated originally from Sanskrit into Arabic had to be re-translated from Arabic into Sanskrit, the originals having been lost, and the science itself, because of the above fact, came to be called *Tājika* (ताजिक). We have a tradition in Sanskrit works on the science that *Tājika* is the science of Astrology as transmitted to the Yavanas from the Sun (cf. *Sūrya-Siddhānta*) who got it from Brahman Himself: [2]

> ब्रह्मणा भानवे प्रोक्तं भानुना यवनाय तत् ।
> यवनेन च यत् प्रोक्तं ताजिकं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥

A book on astrology entitled *Tājika-Nīlakaṇṭhī* composed by Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Ananta, in Śaka 1509 [3] is so called because of the fact that the author, Nīlakaṇṭha, bases his work on the previous text of the Arabs indicated by the word *Tājika*. The use of the term (ताजिकीय) [4] particularly, to denote the Arabian era is most probably to be explained by the fact that the Sanskrit scholar in the following of Maḥmūd, Al-Bīrunī, whose deep knowledge of the Indian language was being utilized at every such step was one whose greatest interest lay in astrology and astronomy. He knew certainly the word *Tājika* as being used for the science of Astrology received from the Arabs. From the science it denoted to the Sanskritists of the land, the people, from amongst whom the early visitors to this country took the greatest interest in it. Thus both from the Arabic meaning of the word and from the Sanskritic use of it in the sense of the Arabic science of astrology, the contemporary people of the land must have liked to have anything pertaining to these foreigners called by the term *Tājikīya* (ताजिकीय). And Al-Bīrunī's suggestion for rendering the Hijra era by *Tājikīya samvat* is therefore as natural as his rendering of Allah by *Avyakta*. These two are not simply coincidental but are to be explained by the fact that while he knew the term *Avyakta* from his study of the Sānkhya system as denoting an Attributeless or Unmanifested One (which description most suited the conception of Allah as a singular and unmanifested or formless entity), he also knew that the term *Tājika* was being used by the Indian scholars in astrology to designate the latter science as based on Arabic sources.

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[1] Steingass: Persian-English Dictionary, p. 275; see also تاجک = a Persian, one of Arab origin but brought up in Persia, *ibid.*, p. 273.

[2] *Tājika-Nīlakaṇṭhī* by Nīlakaṇṭha, published by M. Khelari and Sons, Benares, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, published in the Haridas Sanskrita Granthamala, Benares No. 143, p. 5, Introd.

[4] For certain more occurrences of the term ताजिक or तज्जक as connoting an Arab, see V. S. Agrawala, *loc. cit.*

The letter at the end of the word (ताजिकीयेन) is clearly readable in the present specimen as (न) instead of (र) as read by previous scholars.[1] I would, therefore, suggest the corrected reading of the legend in the margin on the reverse of this type of bilingual coins of Maḥmūd of Ghazni as follows:

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ(ḥ) Mahamūdapure ghaṭita(ḥ) Tājikīyena saṁvatī (ti) 419

'This *ṭaṁka* was struck at Mahmudpur in the *Tājikīya* era 419.'

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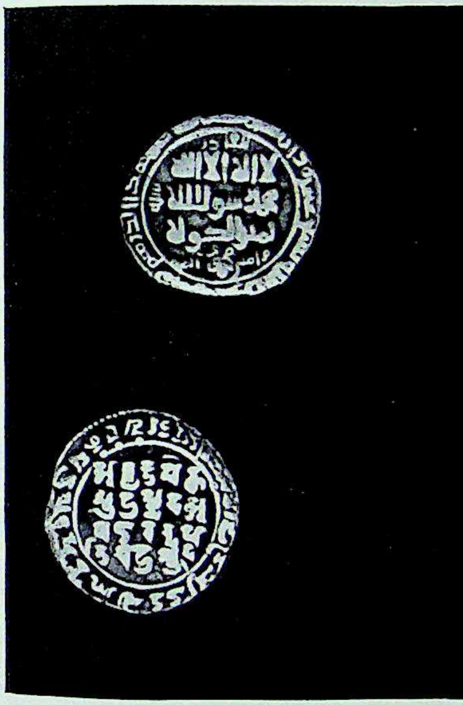
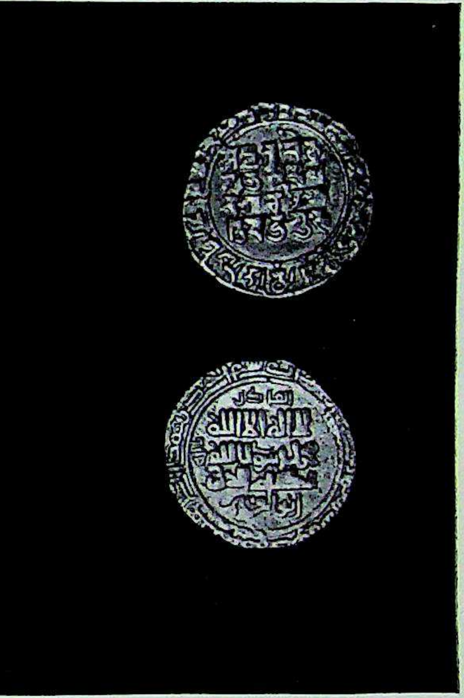
[1] See, V. S. Agrawala, *loc. cit.*



Coin of the 2nd Type



Coin of the 1st Type

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LITERARY ACTIVITY UNDER GOND RULE IN GARAH-MAṆḌALA

By V. W. Karambelkar

(*Paper received on 6th October, 1952*)

Introduction

Much has been written about the Gond rule in Garah in general and special studies, the histories and the Gazetteers apart.[1] But in all of them, to my great surprise, there is not a single reference to the literary activity under the patronage of the Rāja-Gond kings of Garah-Maṇḍala. On the contrary there is a definite remark about the barrenness of literary or artistic inclinations in the Gond character.[2] We shall presently show that the Rāja-Gond Mahārājas of Garah-Maṇḍala took interest in literature quite as actively as any other ancient Indian monarch, in the traditional manner.

Rasaratnamālā of Saṅgrāmasāhi

Saṅgrāmasāhi was the first great king of the Rāja-Gond Mahārājas of Garah-Maṇḍala. He issued gold coins (two of which bearing the date A.D. 1513 are in the London Museum and one of A.D. 1541[3] in the Calcutta Museum), with the legend—"पुलस्त्यवंश्र श्रीसंग्रामसाहि" (obverse) and "पुलस्त्यवंश्र श्रीसंग्रामदेव" (reverse in Telugu). The Telugu legend indicates that the rulers of the Paulastyavaṁśa (i.e. the Gond rulers of Garah-Maṇḍala) might have migrated from the Godāvarī to the Narmadā valley, a fact corroborated by the tradition as well.[4] Saṅgrāmasāhi struck silver coins too.[5]

A recently discovered MS. has disclosed that it bears the name of the monarch Saṅgrāmasāhi as its author; and the work shows that this princely author was a man of taste and talents. This MS. entitled 'Rasaratnamālā'[6] seems to be from the pen of Saṅgrāmasāhi himself because (*a*) it gives the genealogy of the dynasty in its introductory verses, (*b*) its verse

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[1] Ramnagar Inscription—F. E. Hall in *J.A.O.S.*, VII, pp. 1–23. 'Gaḍheśanṛpavarṇanaṁ' ed. by C. V. Bhave in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 6, pp. 181ff.

Sleeman's History in *J.A.S.B.*, 1837. 'Gaḍheśanṛpavarṇanasaṁgraha' in *Annals B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, Parts III-IV, pp. 247ff.

C. U. Wills—History of the Raj-Gonds, 1923.

C. P. Gazetteers.

[2] In the *Mandla Gazetteer*, p. 35.

[3] *Numismatic Chronicle and the Journal of the Numismatic Society*, fifth series, Vol. 17th (1937), p. 300, No. XXXV. Wills, pp. 41–43.

[4] Wills, pp. 15, 17; *J.A.S.B.*, VI, pp. 621–625.

[5] Wills, pp. 41–43; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, pp. 253–55.

[6] Size—10″ × 4″; leaves 18; uniform and legible handwriting; extent in vs. 233; of Saṁvat 1853 (A.D. 1796). It was traced in Mandla in the Golvalkar family records by Prof. K. K. Budholia.

No. 7 distinctly mentions the king's name as its author,[1] (*c*) its colophon also mentions him as the author of the work in very clear terms[2] and, lastly, (*d*) the text deals with a subject which is of general interest to the princes.

The 'Rasaratnamālā' is an interesting work in many ways. After the Maṅgala, the following six verses present the genealogy of the Garah kings: Brahmā—Manu—Dhṛuva—Veṇu (son of Sunîtha)—Niṣāda (he was cursed by a Brahman)—Ekalavya—Khatvāṅga (also called as Sūryamalla)—Dalasiṁha—Śrihaṁsa—Saṅgrāmasāhi. This account does not exactly agree with that found in other sources. But the mythical account of the dynasty, it-should be noted, is provided by our MS. only. It also gives us the name of the Queen of Saṅgrāmasāhi, for the first time:

'वामे हैमवतीसमानसुमति(:) श्रीसाहिमत्या युतः'।

'He, on his left, was joined by Śri Sāhimatî (Queen) Sumatî who was like the image of burnished gold'. Saṅgrāmasāhi was a hero of many battles. He had obtained a boon from Bhairava[3] (and the MS. calls him the incarnation of Rudra and devoted to Nandanandana) and 'when he had reduced the orb of the earth, he constructed fifty-two fortresses indestructible from their excellent fortification'. The Rasaratnamālā describes him as 'paying great respect to Brāhmaṇas, possessing an additional eye in the form of Śāstras and living in his palace like the Lord of gods with his Rasaratnamālā shining around his neck'.

The subject-matter of this work is a peculiar mixture of political and literary themes. Here are discussed nine Rasas (95–113), Bhāvas (114-115), women (in general 127–148), faithful women (150–160). But certain political matters are also discussed here. Thus we have the names of the ruling dynasties (39–43), the qualifications of a good king (44–55), weapons (56–59), management of a kingdom (216), strength (219), Bhukti (220-221), Saṁgraha (230), Pariccheda (231) and also such titles as Śāstrāṇi (60), Vijñanāni (69–74), Deśāḥ (78–80), Gṛham (83), Maṅgalāni (85–92), Bhāṣāḥ (203–206), Darśanāni (207–215). This shows that our royal author has collected all the information which is necessary for a king and which Saṅgrāmasāhi himself actually made use of in the administration of his own kingdom. In other words, the Rasaratnamālā is a miniature encyclopaedia useful for princes. Here, we find only three ancient authorities mentioned—Manu, Bharata and Śukra.

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[1] तत्सूनुः शरदिन्दुसुन्दररुचिः संग्रामसाहिर्नृपो
वामे हैमवतीसमानसुमति(:) श्रीसाहिमत्या युतः ।
यो वन्द्यद्विजराजरञ्जितशिरःशास्त्रार्थनेत्राधिको
भूत्या भाति विशेषभूषणधरो रुद्रावतारो भुवि ॥ ६ ॥
येनाकारि सुरत्नकोशत इयं सद्रत्नमालामला
यां कण्ठे विनिधाय राजसदने देवेन्द्रवद्राजते ।
सद्विद्यारहितोऽपि रञ्जनकलाकौशल्यहीनो नरो
भारत्या विभवात्कवित्वरचनासामर्थ्यसम्पादकः ॥ ७ ॥

[2] 'इति श्रीमत्प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डबलखण्डिताशेषप्रत्यर्थिकुलसकलदिङ्मुखविन्यस्तोज्ज्वलकीर्तिकलापाखिलबीरुदावलि-विराजमानोन्नतिप्रध्वंसि-श्रीनन्दनन्दनचरणारविन्द-मकरन्दास्वादलुब्धमधुपश्रीराजाधिराजश्रीसंग्रामसाहिविरचिता रसरत्नमाला संपूर्णा ।'

[3] Gaḍheśanṛpavarṇanaṁ, vs. 27-28;. Ramnagar Inscription, vss. 14-15.

KEŚAVA LAUGĀKṢI, THE PROTÉGÉ OF DALAPATSĀHI

The son of Saṅgrāmasāhi was Dalapatsāhi. He carried away Durgāvatî from the 'Svayaṁvara Hall', afterwards defeating all the princes that had assembled there.[1] His queen Durgāvatî was 'as prosperity itself to the fortunes of the petitioners, beautiful as the image of virtue, the acme of good fortune of the earth'. (Ram. Ins., vs. 18). Dalapatsāhi ruled, it is said, for a short time—only eight years (A.D. 1541–1548). But even in such a short period he, it seems, patronized a poet—Keśava Laugākṣi by name. The Nṛsiṁhachaṁpū of this author[2] directly establishes connection between the patron and the protégé.[3] Umāpati Dalapati mentioned by him was none other than Dalapatsāhi, the lord of Umā (Durgāvatî). The same fact is mentioned by Keśava in the colophon of this Chaṁpu.[4]

Another work of this Keśava Pandit, which was hitherto unknown and is still unpublished, viz. Mîmāṅsārthaprakāśa[5] was also, most probably, written at Garah, for this second work also makes an indirect reference to Dalapatsāhi, the lord of Umā [1] (Durgāvatî).

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[1] Gaḍheśa, vs. 30

संग्रामसाहिस्तनुजोऽस्य जज्ञे
    संग्रामसम्पादितराजचिन्हः ।
यो भैरवादाप्तवरो नृपोऽभूत्
    खबाणवर्षं परिभोगभोक्ता ॥
प्राकाराग्र्यैः पर्वतोच्चैःश्रितानि
    खेयैः पूर्णैर्वारिभिः सेवितानि ।
द्वापञ्चाशच्चक्रिरे येन राज्ञा
    भूमौर्जित्वा दुर्गमुख्यानि राज्ञाम् ॥

Also, Ram. Ins., vs. 16–18.

[2] Nṛsiṁhachaṁpū, also called as Prahlādachaṁpū. Nagpur University MSS. Acc. Nos. 770, 771 and 1478. No. 771 is the best and more reliable: size 11½″ × 5½″; foll. 18; deals with the story of Prahlāda in five chapters (*stabakas*).

[3] विद्वन्मण्डलकल्पपादपवनं विद्योतिबाग्देवता-
    संकेतायतनं नितान्तकमलालीलाविलासास्पदम् ।
V. 39—लक्ष्मीवल्लभभक्तिभाण्डभवनं भूमण्डलीमण्डनं
    कीर्तेः केलिनिकेतनं दलपतिर्गोविन्दनामाभवत् ॥
श्रीमान्कल्पमहीरुहः किमवनौ किं नाम चिन्तामणिः
    किं कूर्मः(? कर्णः) किमु विक्रमः किमथवा भोजोऽवतीर्णः परः ।
V. 40—शूरश्श्रीमदुमापतिर्दलपतिर्गोविन्दभक्तिप्रियः
    श्रीमत्केशवपण्डितो बितनुते चम्पूं तदीयाज्ञया ॥

From these two vss. Govinda seems to be an alternate name of Saṅgrāmasāhi.

[4] 'इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजस्पृहणीययशौदार्यगाम्भीर्याद्यनेकानवद्यगुणविराजमानश्रीम-
दुमापतिदलपतिराजोद्योतितभट्टकेशवविरचितचम्पूकाव्ये पञ्चमः स्तबकः ।'

[5] Nag. Uni. MS. Acc. No. 108; size 11″ × 5½″; Foll. 31; a work on Mimāṅsā in 12 Paricchedas.

Keśava Laugākṣi, the author of many works, was thus the court poet at the Garah court in the reign of Dalapatsāhi. Keśava, the son of Ananta and the grandson of Keśava was of the famous Laugākṣi family of Benares. His Nyāyachandrikā was composed in Kāśî. Bhāskara Laugākṣi the well-known writer on Mîmāṅsā was also from Benares and it seems not impossible that both Keśava and Bhāskara were related to each other. Keśava was a follower of Yajurveda of the Mādhyandina recension, he calls himself well-versed in Sāhitya, Mîmāṅsā, Nyāya and Dharmaśāstra and had a large number of students. He composed Nṛsiṁhachampū and Rāma-Kṛṣṇāvataraṇaśatam; Mîmāṅsārthaprakāśa; Nyāyachandrikā and Antyeṣṭipaddhati—works respectively dealing with literature, Mîmāṅsā, Nyāya and Dharmaśāstra. Aufrecht refers to a Champū work called Ânandavṛndavanachampū by Keśava but MM. H. P. Shastri ascribes it to Kavi Karṇapūra. Thus [2] Keśava composed his Nyāyachandrikā at Kāśî, his Nṛsiṁhachampū and Mîmāṅsārthaprakāśa at Garah and his last two works at Puṇyastamba on the banks of the river Godāvarî.[3] This means that our poet always preferred to stay on the banks of some sacred river—Gaṅgā, Narmadā or Godāvarî and his Antyeṣṭipaddhati was his last work. He might have left Benares to seek patronage of the Garah King Dalapatsāhi and when Asafkhan's invasion brought calamities on Durgāvatî and Vîranārāyaṇa, he left Garah for Puṇyastaṁba in the south.

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[1] वचनामृतधारयाऽनया × ×ामधिगम्य केशवः ।
कृतवानभिषेकमादरात् उमयाशीतमयूखमालिनः ॥

The same is repeated in the Nṛ. Champū also—

शैलाधीश्वरजादृगञ्चलकृपापूर्णैकल्लोलोत्थितं
काव्यं केशवपण्डितस्य कविनः कर्णामृतं श्रूयताम् ।

[2] Here are pertinent references to the account of Keśava given above from his works:

केशवसुतानन्तात्मजः केशवः—in Nṛ. Champū.
श्रीलौगाक्षिकुलारविन्दतरणिः—in all the works.
माध्यन्दिनाम्नायविद्—(in all) यजुषाम्नायविद्—(in Mîmāṅsā)
माध्यन्दिनिः केशवः—(Antyeṣṭi).
मीमांसायुततर्कतन्त्रचतुरः साहित्यरत्नाकरः—(Nṛ. Ch.; Rāma; Mîmāṅsā),
मीमांसानलिनीविकाशतरणिर्न्यायाब्धिमन्याचलः—(Nṛ. Ch.)
नूतनगद्यपद्यरचनाविद्यैकवाचस्पतिः—(Nṛ. Ch.)
यच्छिष्यैर्जगतीतलं परिवृतम्—(Rāma.)

At the end of Nyāyachandrikā we have: "श्रावणप्रतिपच्चन्द्रदिने काश्यामयं कृतः ।"—G. V. Devasthali—Bom. Uni. MSS. Cat. No. 1992.

Nyāyachandrikā—Bom. Uni. Library MS. No. 1992.
Antyeṣṭipaddhati—Bom. Uni. Library MS. No. 963.

[3] रामश्लोकशतं चकार सुकृती गोदातटप्रोल्लसत्-
पुण्यस्तम्भनिवासिकेशवसुतानन्तात्मजः केशवः ।
नाना निबन्धानालोक्य पुण्यस्तम्भपुरःस्थितः ।
अन्त्येष्टिपद्धतिं भट्टकेशवः प्राह निर्मलाम् ॥

The editor of the 'Gaḍheśanṛpavarṇanasaṁgraha' (*B.O.R.I.*, XXVIII, parts III-IV, pp. 24ff.) could not identify Keśava appearing therein. But, he is, with least doubt, the same as Keśava-Laugākṣi.

THE POET JAYAGOVINDA

When Dalapatsāhi died, his son Vîranārāyaṇa was only five years old. His queen Durgāvatî, the spirited and righteous Bundella princess ruled in her son's name for sixteen years. And indeed, under her rule, the kingdom of Garah prospered well. But Asafkhan, the Mogul Subhadar of Karrh-Manikpur invaded her territory and captured Singorgarh (Ram. Ins., vss. 20–24). This illustrious queen put herself to death for the sake of her own honour after a gallant defence (Ram. Ins., vs. 26). Even her own son Vîranārāyaṇa was later on killed in action at Chauragarh.[1] Akbar annexed the kingdom of Garah to his empire in A.D. 1564.

The later history of the Garah rulers is well told by the frequent shifting of their capital—from Garah (Saṅgrāmasāhi) to Singorgarh (Durgāvatî), then to Ramnagar (Hṛdayasāhi) after a short stay at Chauragarh (Vîranārāyaṇa) and lastly to Mandla (Narendrasāhi). This was so, because after Durgāvatî, the Gond Mahārājas were overshadowed by the mighty arm of the Moguls. Dalapatsahi's brother Chandrasāhi occupied the throne for a period. To him ten districts were ceded by the emperor.[2] Madhukarasāhi then inherited this meagre kingdom after treacherously murdering his elder brother. Premasāhi (also called Premanārāyaṇa) was the son of Madhukara and he was murdered by Jujharsing of Orcha in A.D. 1634.[3] Hṛdayasāhi, the son of Premasāhi recovered his kingdom from Jujhar. During his reign and at his court flourished the poet Jayagovinda of the well-known Rāmanagarapraśasti (A.D. 1667). Jayagovinda was the son of Maṇḍana Kavi who was a celebrated teacher of Mîmāṅsā and Vyākaraṇa (Cchandoṅga) and was versed in logic.[4] It appears from the inscription that both the king Hṛdayasāhi and his queen Sundarî were very pious by nature. The temple of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Durgā on which this inscription was recorded, was constructed at the command of the king and his queen. Learned Brāhmaṇas were given villages to carry on worship at the temple. Both Maṇḍana and Jayagovinda must have been among these Brāhmaṇas receiving gifts at the hands of the royal patrons. The Ramnagara Panegyric shows Jayagovinda to be a poet of no mean order.

Hṛdayasāhi was followed by Cchatrasāhi, then Kesarisāhi and then Narendrasāhi in quick succession. Only we may mention that in the reign of the last-named king the MS. of Rasamañjarî by Bhānumiśra bearing the date Saṁvat 1769 = A.D. 1712[1] was written. Otherwise the reigns of these three kings were almost barren. Even Mahārājasāhi, the son of Narendra was insignificant. After the short rule of Śivarājasāhi (the son of Mahārāja) and his son Durjanasāhi, the illustrious Nijāmasāhi (brother of Śivarāja) came to the throne in about A.D. 1749.[2]

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[1] But see Wills, pp. 63-64; Ram. Ins., vs. 26 tells otherwise. Ferishtā (Briggs) I, p. 217.

[2] Ram. Ins., vs. 27; Gadhe. Nṛ., vs. 32.
These districts later on came to be known as the principality of Bhopal.

[3] Wills, pp. 71, 84; Sleeman, *J.A.S.B.* (Aug. 1837); VI, pp. 631-32; Kale, *History of Nagpur* (Marathi), pp. 19-20; Elliot's History, VII, pp. 47–50. The 'Gajendramokṣa' of Kavi Lakṣmīprasāda begins describing the Gond dynasty from Premasāhi (IX: 4, 5); Ram. Ins.. vss. 31, 32, 33. Gadhe. Nṛ., vss. 34, 35.

[4] Ram. Ins., (vs. No. 50).

सुकीर्तेर्मीमांसाविवरणगुरोस्तर्कजयिनः
सुतेन च्छन्दोङ्गप्रवचनपटोर्मण्डनकवेः ।
तदीयादेशेन व्यरचि जयगोविन्दविदुषा
समासात्तद्वंश्यक्षितिपविषये वर्णनमिदम् ॥

GAJENDRAMOKṢA OF LAKṢMÎPRASĀDA[3]

This poem was written during the reign and under the patronage of Nijāmsāhi by the poet Lakṣmîprasāda. It was presented by the poet to his patron on the Vijayādaśamî of Saṁvat 1815 (A.D. 1759).

In the IX canto of his poem, the poet Lakṣmîprasāda gives an account of his own family. Accordingly the poet's father was Hari and mother Lakṣmî; he was of Kāśyapa gotra. His great-grandfather (on the mother's side)—Viṭṭhala Mādhyandina of Kṛṣṇātri gotra was the author of 108 works; his grandfather Vāsudeva was patronized by Bhāvasiṁha of Bāndhava Gaḍha (A.D. 1660–1690).[4] The poet's great-grandfather (on the father's side) Viṣṇuśarman was patronized by the king Premasāhi.

Lakṣmîprasāda the poet himself, was 'Dharmādhyakṣa' at the court of Nijāmasāhi and served as a political representative at the Maratha court of Sagar on behalf of the Gond king. He was called Dîkṣita.

Gajendramokṣa is a poem in nine cantos, its extent in verses being 407. It has for its theme the famous mythological story of the release of Gajendra from the clutches of the Nakra by Lord Viṣṇu (cf. Bhāgavata, VIII, 2ff). The poet has arranged it in the following manner:—

	No.	Name.	Extent in Vss.
Canto.	I	TRIKŪṬACHALAVARṆANAM ..	42
,,	II	VARUṆOPAVANAVARṆANAM ..	57
,,	III	KĀSĀRAGAJENDRAVARṆANAM ..	42
,,	IV	GAJA-NAKRA-YUDDHAVARṆANAM ..	48
,,	V	VIṢṆUPRĀRTHANĀ ..	43
,,	VI	MOKṢAḤ, GANDHARVALOKA ..	43
,,	VII	VIṢṆOḤ VAIKUṆṬHAGAMANAM ..	44
,,	VIII	NARMADĀ-MĀHIṢMATÎVARṆANAM ..	43
,,	IX	KAVIKULAVARṆANAM and NṚPAVAMŚAVARṆANAM ..	45
			407

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[1] *Nag. University Journal*, No. 6, p. 187.

[2] Cchtrasāhi—Gaḍhesa Nṛ., vs. 39; Gajendra., IX, 7;
Kesarisāhi—Gaḍhesa Nṛ., vs. 40; Gajendra., IX, 8;
Narendrasāhi—Gaḍhesa Nṛ., vss. 41, 42; Gajendra., IX, 9;
Mahārājasāhi—Gaḍhesa Nṛ., vss. 43, 44; Gajendra., IX, 10.

[3] The MS. of this poem belongs to RB. M.D. Pathak of Mandla. Size $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$; Foll. 180. I came to know about it through Prof. L. R. Kulkarni. The MS. was copied by Raghunātha, the disciple of the poet at Sagar in Bhādra of Saṁvat 1847 = A.D. 1791.

सर्गषट्कं साष्टपद्यं कविनाऽलेखि सागरे ।
शिष्टमन्यद् घनश्यामस्तत्प्रीतमनसालिखत् ॥

[4] Rewa State Gazetteer, IV, p. 17.

The poem is accompanied by the poet's own commentary—'Anvarthadîpikā'. It is a very vigorous poem and shows Lakṣmîprasāda to be a very powerful poet with full control over his subject, language and metre.

It is a peculiarity of the poem that it starts its account of the Raja-Gond dynasty from Premasāhi and with the remark that the dynasty is called 'Paulastyavaṁśa'.[1] This dynasty, the commentary informs, came to be established on the ruins of the Haihayas in the Narmadā valley (IX. 2 Com.). Vss. IX. 4–IX. 20 are devoted to the direct description of Premasāhi and the following eight rulers in which are mentioned a few facts such as the 'building of Ramnagar', 'capture of the fort of Lanji', which we know from other sources also. But what is more important is that here are a number of references to the facts which we know for the first time. The king Nijapati (Nijāmasāhi) had himself secured the kingdom for his elder brother Śivarāja from Nānā, the son of Bajîrao (I) and killed with his own hands Muṅgājî (a petty chieftain of Mandla, subservient to the Gond rulers of Garah), the slayer of his father Mahārājasāhi. Following are the new points added to the history of the Gond rulers of Garah-Maṇḍala from this poem:—

(i) Nāna, the son of Bājîrao (I) had defeated the ruler of Garah, but Nijāmasāhi recovered his kingdom;[2]
(ii) Muṅgājî, a petty chief revolted against Mahārājasāhi and killed him. Nijāmasāhi avenged the murder of his father by beheading Muṅgāji with his own hand;[3]
(iii) Ajitsing who was made great by the Garah rulers, tried to seize the throne with the help of Raghoji (I) Bhonsle of Nagpur, but was himself caught and killed by Nijāmasāhi.[4]

Nijāmasāhi is described as Mahārāja in an inscription of A.D. 1775.[5] The poet describes the Mahārāja Nijāmasāhi as:—

रामाणामादिकामः शरणागतनृपारामविश्रामधाम
शत्रूणां कालवामः प्रकटसुरनगः पूरितात्यर्थिकामः ।
भूपानां मौलिदाम स्वजनहितगुणग्रामभूपालरामः
साक्षादाकारिधर्मः स्फुरति जगति यो राजराट् श्री निजामः ॥

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[1] IX. 31 Com—."अथ पुलस्त्यवंशजातानां गढेशपतिराज्ञां पूर्वमारभ्य बहुलात् प्रेमसाहिनामानं नृपतिमारभ्य वर्णयन्नाह"—

[2] IX. 18—कालाशापाशहालाहलसमविकटाटोपनानाभटाब्धौ
संग्रामादग्र्यधामा श्रितवति जनके सत्पितृव्याग्रजाभ्याम् ।
शिष्टो यो भूविशिष्टोदितसुकृतबलाद्राज्यमुद्धर्तुमिच्छन्
शत्रुं संमोह्य बुद्ध्या सहवसतिगुणैर्भ्रातरं चक्र ईशम् ॥

[3] IX. 19—साक्षाद्गच्छन्विपक्षं निजपतिनृपतेर्नाशमैच्छत्समक्षं
सामन्तं सैन्यवन्तं गतभयमनयं तं मदान्धं सबन्धुम् ।
मन्वानो हन्तुमन्यासहमहसमपि स्वामिना सम्मुखस्थं
हत्वा सत्त्वाधिकत्वात् पितृरनृणतयाऽतोषयद्भ्रातरं यः ॥

[4] IX. 25—अत्रत्यैश्वर्यमत्तो बहुविधबलयुक् शत्रुसैन्यं च कर्षन्
दुष्कर्मा स्वामिधर्मापनयननयनो राज्यमूलं विभित्सन् ।
राज्ञो भूत्वा द्वितीयः समरमरचयत्खेशसेनां च जेतुं
तं दुष्टाजीतसिंहं धृतमिव पशुमारं जघान प्रतापी ॥

[5] A Satî inscription now deposited in the Nagpur Museum.

GAḌHEŚANṚPAVARṆANAM [1]

This poem which was written about A.D. 1800 by Maithila Rūpanātha Ojhā, was obviously compiled after the death of Nijāmasāhi. The line of the Gond kings lingered after this great last king for a while but it had lost all of its glory. The Gaḍheśanṛpavarṇanam is an insipid calendar of the Garah rulers without any additional charm. Even the known facts are presented in a dry manner. The editor of the poem makes a very apt statement when he says—'Lakṣmîprasāda may be compared to a tiger who roams at will through the thick jungles of Mandla while Rupanātha appears like a sentinel who has to keep his vigil in a fixed direction and to walk up and down in a limited space.' [2] This chronicle gives the account of the rulers of Garah-Maṇḍala in a cut and dry fashion (each king getting a verse or two) and following the Ramnagar Inscription and such other sources in the main. The poet says at the end:

> गढापरिवृढा एते तेषां पद्यानि बुद्धितः ।
> श्रीमता रूपनाथेन रचितानि विचार्य च ॥ [3]

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[1] *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 6 (1940), pp. 181ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[3] The 'Gaḍheśanṛpavarṇanasaṁgraha' (*B.O.R.I.*, XXVIII, parts III-IV., 247ff.) is a collection of verses, 126 in all, in different metres from different poets such as Jayagovinda, Rūpanātha, Keśava and others who flourished in different years of the Gond rule.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SO-CALLED THEORY OF THE BRAHMANICAL REVOLUTION UNDER PUṢYAMITRA ŚUṄGA

By P. BANERJEE

(*Paper received on 2nd March, 1953*)

Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's *coup d'état* against Bṛihadratha Maurya is regarded by Jayaswal and several other scholars as a Brahmanical revolt against the Mauryas. In the opinion of these scholars the Mauryas (who were followers of the dissentient faiths) were Śūdras in origin, and the introduction of *daṇḍa-samatā* (equality in punishment) and prohibition of animal-sacrifices, etc. by Aśoka were anti-Brahmanical measures seeking to deprive the Brahmanical community of the privileges enjoyed by them from time immemorial, and this led to the great dissatisfaction of the Brahmanical people, which culminated in the usurpation of the Magadhan throne by Puṣyamitra, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bharadvāja *gotra.*[1]

Jayaswal thinks that the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* is a product of the Śuṅga-Kāṇva regime, and the extreme hostility of this *Dharmaśāstra* towards the Śūdras, specially Śūdras as rulers and high officials, is indicative of a strong reaction against the Maurya regime. In support of his theory Jayaswal refers to the high Brahmanical pretensions contained in the *Mānava* code. According to his interpretation the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, XII, 100, which states that it is the Brahmin (*Veda-śāstravid*) who deserves the leadership of the army (*saināpatya*), sovereignty (*rājya*), the chiefship of the executive (*daṇḍa-netritva*) and the overlordship of the whole people (*sarva-lokādhipatya*), refers to the achievements of the orthodox Brāhmaṇa hero, the *senāpati* Puṣyamitra who obtained sovereignty and followed a strong executive policy, while these and many other Brahmanical pretensions in the code were tolerated, for it was composed during the orthodox regime of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas.[2]

The view of Jayaswal and others, as stated above, does not seem to be tenable for reasons more than one. The date of the composition of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* is uncertain, and whatever its date may be, there is hardly any justification for characterizing it as a Śuṅgan code reflecting a Brahmanical reaction against the Maurya regime. Again, it is doubtful if the Mauryas were at all Śūdras and if the introduction of *daṇḍa-samatā* and the prohibition of animal-sacrifices by Aśoka can at all be interpreted as measures promulgated with a view to offending the sentiments of the Brahmanical community.[3]

To interpret Puṣyamitra's military *coup d'état* against his master Bṛihadratha Maurya as a Brahmanical revolt against the heterodox Maurya regime is to ignore in our opinion the antecedents of his career. His deeds and achievements would reveal that what he did was the successful consummation of the exploits of an ambitious general. He was, we know, a militant Brāhmaṇa and the commander-in-chief of the Maurya army. He was the *de facto* if not the *de jure* ruler of the Maurya dominion in Brihadratha's lifetime. Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī* relates that the Mauryas ruled for 108 years and Pushyamitra for 30 years. The Purāṇas, in general, accord 137 years for the total duration of the Maurya rule. The total of 137 years suits not only the Puranic but also the Buddhist traditions, as recorded in the *Mahāvaṁśa*. So it appears that the *Therāvalī*, which more or less concerns the genealogical succession of kings in Avantī (as the *Purāṇas* concern that of the Magadhan kings), has split the Mauryan rule into two parts [1] and the last part of 30 years has been attributed to Puṣyamitra. Thus it seems that Puṣyamitra had exercised independent powers in the west [2] during the lifetime of Brihadratha, perhaps acknowledging loyalty nominally to the latter during this period. This seems to be supported by the *Vāyupurāṇa* [3] which also assigns a rule of 60 years to Puṣyamitra. Puṣyamitra's rule of 60 years is inconsistent with the general statement of the *Purāṇas* which accord only 110–112 years for the total duration of the Śuṅga rule. But this can be explained by supposing that though the duration of the Śuṅga rule was counted in most of the *Purāṇas* from after the death of Brihadratha and usurpation of the throne by Puṣyamitra, the *Vāyu* has included in Puṣyamitra's rule also the years during which he ruled independently in the west in the lifetime of Brihadratha.

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[1] MM. Haraprasāda Śāstrī, *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 259–62; K. P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya*, pp. 29–43.

[2] K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–43.

[3] The views of MM. Haraprasāda Śāstrī and K. P. Jayaswal have been successfully refuted by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), pp. 359f.

From the preceding it is clear that Puṣyamitra had acquired considerable power before he seized the Mauryan throne, and that his final *coup d'état* is the culmination of his ambitious design to bring the whole Mauryan dominion under his control, and it seems to be unwarranted to characterize it as a Brahmanical revolt.

Again, it may be noted that Puṣyamitra who was a Śuṅga was of the Bharadvāja *gotra*; the Bharadvājas were a branch of the Āṅgirasas, some of whom according to the epic-puranic traditions combined the status and functions of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, and it is quite possible that Puṣyamitra's military profession was due to his family traditions, rather than to any extraordinary circumstances. In other words, it would appear that as Puṣyamitra belonged to a Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya or Brahma-Kṣatriya family, the use of arms was quite natural on his part and was not forced upon him to meet a special circumstance.

It may not be out of place to say that the *Purāṇas* refer to several royal families as Brahmakṣatra or Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa families amongst which the Paurava family is the most noted. Regarding this line or *vaṁśa*, the following verses from the *Vāyupurāṇa* are significant,—*atrānuvaṁśa-ślokoyaṁ gīto vipraiḥ purāvidaiḥ | Brahma-Kṣatrasya yo yoṇirvaṁśo devarṣi-satkṛitaḥ ‖ Kṣemakaṁ prāpya rājānaṁ saṁsthāṁ prāpsyati vai kalau | ityeṣa Pauravo vaṁśo yathāvadanukīrtitaḥ* ‖ The first verse is also found in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Regarding the significance of the term Brahma-Kṣatriya, the commentator says:—*Brahmaṇaḥ Brāhmaṇasya Kṣatrasya Kṣatriyasya ca yoniḥ kāraṇaṁ pūrvaṁ yathoktatvāt* [4] | From this it is evident that the Paurava family was a Brahmakṣatra family, from which emanated both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. The reason why the Paurava line is called a Brahma-Kṣatra family may be due to the fact that Bharadvāja, a descendant of Bṛihaspati the Āṅgirasa *ṛiṣi*, was adopted by Bharata, son of Duṣyanta, and the Paurava line was continued by the descendants of this Bharadvāja. As a result of this mixture the Bharadvājas in question, as the *Vedārtha-dīpikā* tells us, could assert either Kṣatriya or Brāhmaṇa paternity, (*Bharadvājā Bharadvājaputrā ityarthaḥ ....ete ca Bṛihaspateḥ pautrāḥ Duṣyanta-nṛipa-putrasya Bharatasya vī pautrāḥ*).[1]

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. I, p. 92.

[2] This explains why Agnimitra and Vasumitra were in Vidiśā. They were ruling independently or semi-independently in Central India while Puṣyamitra went afield for supremacy in Magadha.

[3] *Puṣpamitrastu senānīruddhṛitya vai Bṛihadrathaṁ |*
kārayiṣyati vairājyaṁ samāḥ ṣaṣṭiṁ sadaivatu ‖
—*Vāyupurāṇa* (Pañchānanatarkaratna's edition, Calcutta), v. 337, Ch. 99.

[4] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 36.

Again, the *Matsyapurāṇa* explicitly says that from Bharadvāja were descended both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas (*Tasmādapi Bharadvājāt Brāhmaṇāḥ Kṣatriyī bhuvi | dvyāmuṣyīyaṇakaulīnāḥ smṛitāste dvividhena-ca* ‖). That the descendants of Bharadvāja, such as Suhotras, Sunahotras, Naras, Gargas and Ṛijiśvanas also could optionally claim to be grandsons of Bṛihaspati or Bharata, is evident from the statement in the *Vedārthadīpikā* (on *Ṛigveda*, VI, 52) that they belonged to the Bārhaspatya *gotra* of Saṁyu. From the fact that they were born in Paurava line and yet could claim Saṁyu's *gotra*, it is amply clear that these Bharadvājas were a Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa people.[2]

Again, the *Purāṇas* declare in explicit terms the Urukṣayas, Kapis, Gargyas, Kāṇvas, Priyamedhas, Maudgalyas, Viṣṇuvṛiddhas, Hāritas, Śaunakas, and several others as Kṣatropeta-dvijātyaḥ,[3] who combined the traditions of both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. In view of all these it is quite possible that Puṣyamitra belonged to one such Brahmakṣatra family, and as such was a Brāhmaṇa with Kṣatriya tradition.[4]

In this connection it may also be noted that like the Śuṅgas their contemporaries and successors,—the Kāṇvas, Sātavāhanas, Vākāṭakas, Pallavas and Kadambas seem to have belonged to Brahma-Kṣatriya or Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa families. The Kāṇvas, like their predecessors,—the Śuṅgas, were a branch of the Āṅgirasas, and an off-shoot from the Paurava line and as such can be described as Brahmakṣatras. The Sātavāhanas also seem to have been a Brahmakṣatra family as they were both Brahmins and warriors. The Vākāṭakas were of the Viṣṇu-vṛiddha *gotra*. Viṣṇu-vṛiddha, we know, was a descendant of Māndhātā who was a Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa. The Pallavas and Kadambas were also

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[1] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 159f., 161ff.; *Ṣaḍguru-Śiṣyakṛita Vedārthadīpikā Sarvāṇukramaṇīvṛitti*, Vol. I, pt. IV. (Ed. by Macdonell.)

[2] The Bharadvāja Brāhmaṇas such as Droṇācārya and Aśvatthāmā also were among the celebrated fighters of the Bhārata battle.

[3] Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 224f. Indian traditions record several other instances of this peculiar combination of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, besides those noted above. Ṛicīka, the Bhārgava Ṛiṣi and grandfather of Paraśurāma married Satyavatī, the daughter of Kṣatriya Gādhi (Muir, *O.S.T.*, Vol. I, p. 349), and it is a well-known fact that Paraśurāma himself was a Brāhmaṇa with the profession of a Kṣatriya, i.e. warrior. Again, Nahuṣa's son Yati relinquished his kingdom to his brother Yayāti and became a Brāhmaṇa *muni* (*Matsyapurāṇa*, Vaṅgavāsī Edition, 24, 51). Viśvāmitra by virtue of his austerities became a *Brahmarṣi* and the founder of a Brahmin family. Māndhātri, Kāśya and Gṛitsamada also were Kṣatriyas originally, and attained Brahminhood afterwards.

[4] The Brahmakṣatra-status of the Śuṅgas is also corroborated by what MM. Pandit Haraprasāda Śāstrī has adduced regarding their *gotra* and *Pravaras*. No. 25 of the Bibliotheca Sanskritica contains, as Pandit Śāstrī tells us, a series of works on the *gotras* and *pravaras* of the Brāhmaṇas with an introduction by the editor, P. Chentsal Rao. On leaf vii of that introduction we are told that '*Pravaras* nos. 4 and 5 are pronounced by persons who are born of Śūṅga, a descendant of Bharadvāja, by a woman married in the family of Kata, a descendant of Viśvāmitra'. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 287). This shows that the Śuṅgas had Brahmakṣatra blood in them.

Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa people as their *gotras*, surnames and military pursuits would indicate. All this would lend support to the Puranic tradition regarding the existence of Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya or Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa families in the early period of Indian History. And the Brahmanical rulers of the post-Mauryan period, it would appear, were in actuality Brahma-Kṣatriya families.[1]

As regards the tall claims of the Brāhmaṇas advocated in the *Mānava* code (II, 135; VIII, 20; I, 100, etc.) it may be pointed out that almost all the *Dharmasūtras* and other *śāstras* uphold the Brahmanic pretensions and contain harsh provisions against the non-Brāhmaṇas, specially the Śūdras. The *Mānava* code is no exception in this respect. The law book of Vasiṣṭha maintains an attitude very similar to that of the *Mānava* code regarding the Śūdras, and in some respects the former is more class-conscious and pro-Brahmanic than the latter. Even a secular treatise like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya shows certain pro-Brahmanic leanings in matter of punishments, etc. Glaring instances of Brahmanic pretensions are to be met with in the *Atharvaveda* as will be apparent from the following quotations.

'That calamity which falls in upon the village, of which they say, "this is a star with dishevelled hair'' is in truth the Brāhmaṇa's wife, who ruins the kingdom; (and the same is the case) wherever (a country) is visited by a hare attended with the meteors.' 'Whenever any miscarriages take place or any moving things are destroyed, whenever men slay each other, it is the Brāhmaṇa's wife who kills them.' 'And when a woman has had ten former husbands not Brāhmaṇas, if a Brāhmaṇa takes her hand, it is he alone who is her husband. It is a Brāhmaṇa alone that is a husband, and not a Rājanya or a Vaiśya.' 'A Brāhmaṇa is not to be wronged, as fire (must not be touched) by a man who cherishes his own body.'[2] Similar preferential claims are met with also in many other hymns of the *Atharvaveda*. In view of all these, the extravagant claims of the Brāhmaṇas as embodied in the *Mānava* code cannot be taken as implying a Brāhmanical reaction against the Mauryas under Puṣyamitra's leadership.

Further, it is not possible to accept Jayaswal's interpretation of the *Mānava* code (XII, 100) (*saināpatyaṁ ca rājyaṁ ca daṇḍa-netṛitvameva ca | sarvalokādhipatyaṁ ca vedaśāstra-vidarhati*). Jayaswal takes the term *vedaśāstravid* to mean a Brāhmaṇa and according to him the verse refers to the achievements of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga who was a Brāhmaṇa, a senānī and king or the executive head of the state. Jayaswal seems to have missed the real import of the verse. The term '*vedaśāstravid*' refers to anyone who studied the *Vedas* and there is no justification for applying this verse to denote a particular person. The main theme of the verse is to extol the excellence of Vedic studies and in tone and spirit it is an imitation of the *Atharvan* hymn (XI, 5) dwelling on the temporal and spiritual utility of Vedic education. A few passages from the above-mentioned hymn serve to illustrate this point .... 'From him' (the Brahmacārī) (the Vedic student), '[was] born the Brāhmaṇa, the chief Brahman ... together with immortality .... The teacher [is] the Vedic student, the Vedic student [is] Prajāpati; Prajāpati bears rule (*vi-rāj*); the *virāj* became the controlling Indra ..... By Vedic studentship, by fervor, a king defends his kingdom .... By Vedic studentship a girl wins (*vid*) a young husband ....'[1] The import of the passages quoted above is that Vedic studies impart efficiency both in spiritual and material spheres of life. It is the Vedic studies that make men successful as governors, rulers etc. Kings qualify themselves for their position by virtue of their Vedic studies. With this we may compare *Gautama Dharma-śūtra* (XI. 3) which states that a king should have a good grounding in the *Vedas* and *Ānvīkṣikī* and that he has to rely on the *Vedas* and *Dharmaśāstras*, etc., for carrying out his duties.[2] As the *Atharvaveda* extract tells us, even women had to qualify themselves for marriage by prosecuting a course of Vedic studies. In short, Vedic studentship according to this authority, was an indispensable pre-requisite for success in every career of life.

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[1] The records of the Sena rulers of Bengal call them Brahma-Kṣatriyas. Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 51, f.n. 1) rightly regards them as both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

[2] *Atharvaveda*, V. 17, 4, 7, 8 and 9; V. 18, 6.

Thus the meaning of the verse in question *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, XII. 100 is in substance the same as that of the *Atharvan* passages quoted above and Jayaswal's suggestion that the achievements mentioned therein refer to those of Brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra appears to be without any basis.

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[1] *Atharvaveda* tr. by Whitney and Lanman, XI. 5. 5, 16, 17. Though the Brahmacārī hymn of the *Atharvaveda* is full of difficult and obscure passages, still it is apparent that the verses therein are intended to show the enormous power and benefit derived by following the career of a Vedic student or Brahmacārī.

[2] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, Vol. II, part I, p. 363.

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RAGHUNANDANA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO HIS PREDECESSORS

PART I

By BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

Paper received on 1-7-53

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PREFACE

The present critical study of 'Raghunandana's indebtedness to his predecessors' has been made by the present writer under the guidance of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mookerji, while the former was the Sir William Jones Research Fellow for Sanskritic Studies at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, for three years from October, 1949 to September, 1952. Though I have always indicated in the footnotes of the present work the sources of my information and also appended a long list of the works, consulted by me, yet I should specially mention here that the periods of literary activity, placed against all the works and authors, except the two Epics which are undatable, are, with the exception of the following two works and two authors, invariably taken from MM. Dr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vols. I–III:—

> The Yogiyājñavalkyasmṛti, the Agastyasaṁhitā, Vidyākara Vājapeyin and Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa.

I have accepted the date of the Yogiyājñavalkyasmṛti, as fixed in the introduction by its editors and have fixed the lower limit of the date of composition of the Agastyasaṁhitā from the consideration of the fact that the earliest digest-writer to quote from it is Hemādri in his Caturvargacintāmaṇi, the date of composition of which is about 1270 A.D. I have assigned the date of flourishing (1350–1425 A.D.) of Vidyākara from the editor's preface to the B.I. edition of his only published work, viz. the Nityācārapaddhati. Kane has assigned 200 to 700 A.D. to the Yogiyājñavalkyasmṛti but is silent about the Agastyasaṁhitā and allotted a lower limit (1500 A.D.) only to the date of Vidyākara. As regards Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, no flourishing period having been fixed by Kane, except the fact that his commentary on the Amarakośa was composed in 1431 A.D. and also in view of the fact that this author names Vardhamāna Upādhyāya (1450–1500 A.D.) and his Smṛtiparibhāṣā in his own Smṛtiratnahāra, I have assigned 1400–1475 A.D. as the period of literary activity of this author.

Calcutta:
28th April, 1953

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

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CHAPTER I

Introductory

Raghunandana is the last great Bengal digest-writer on Dharmaśāstra. His Smṛtitattva, which is divided into 28 parts, i.e. separate works, is an encyclopædia, containing quotations from not less than 300 works and authors. Raghunandana, being a *nibandhakāra*, i.e. digest-writer, necessarily drew upon the Epics, the Purāṇas, the Dharmasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras, the Smṛtis, the commentaries (of the Dharmasūtras, Gṛhyasūtras and Smṛtis) and the earlier digests (i.e. *nibandhas*). The earlier digests, drawn upon by Raghunandana to a very great extent, belong to Bengal and Mithilā, though digests, composed in other parts of India, also figure prominently in the list of his quoted works. His indebtedness to these digests is two-fold, first, in the form of prose comments, quoted from them and secondly, in the form of texts of dharmasūtra, gṛhyasūtra, smṛti or purāṇa, quoted from them. These two kinds of quotation of Raghunandana from the earlier digests may be styled *first-hand* and *second-hand* quotations respectively. This second-hand quotation was rendered necessary for two reasons, viz. (1) scarcity in the time of Raghunandana of the original works, i.e. dharmasūtras, gṛhyasūtras, smṛtis or purāṇas which contained authoritative texts on social and religious law, and (2) attribution of greater authority to the texts themselves, whenever the source-books of the latter were still available in his time but were supposed to be distorted and therefore not reliable. Raghunandana has expressly stated in the last of his introductory verses of the Malamāsatattva[1] that the topics, referred to by him above, are being discussed by him for the delight of the good, after he has consulted the *nibandhas* (i.e. digests) copiously.

The *nibandhas* began to be composed from the 11th century onwards and the prominent nibandhakāras, to whom Raghunandana is indebted, are :—(1) Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Aniruddha, Ballāla Sena, Halāyudha, Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, Śūlapāṇi, Rāyamukuta and Śrīnātha in Bengal, (2) Śrīdatta, Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati, Rudradhara, Vācaspati Miśra and Vardhamāna Upādhyāya in Mithilā, (3) Vidyākara Vājapeyin in Orissa, and (4) Vijñāneśvara, Lakṣmīdhara, Śrīdhara, Hemādri, Allāḍanātha, Mādhavācārya and Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa in other provinces of India. Of these, Kullūka Bhaṭṭa and Vijñāneśvara were not nibandhakāras properly but commentators on the Manu-smṛti and Yājñavalkya-smṛti respectively. The Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara, though professing to be a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, is owing to its profusion really in the nature of a digest. Śūlapāṇi, one of Raghunandana's Bengal predecessors, was a digest-writer as well as a commentator on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and our author has quoted profusely from his various digests and from his commentary, called the Dīpakalikā. The Smṛtiratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara and the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara are divided into seven and fourteen parts respectively. Our author has quoted from them many hundreds of times and mostly abbreviated their names into Ratnākara and Kalpataru respectively, though he has occasionally fully mentioned the names of their specific parts, e.g. Kṛtyaratnākara, Gṛhastharatnākara, Dānakāṇḍakalpataru, Tīrthakāṇḍakalpataru, etc. Though Raghunandana has quoted from several works of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, whom he has invariably styled as *Navya Vardhāmāna* (i.e. the younger Vardhamāna) to distinguish him from the earlier logician Vardhamāna, yet it is rather unfortunate that none of these quoted works has so far come to light, the only published work being the Daṇḍaviveka,[1] which again has never been quoted by Raghunandana. The Agastyasaṁhitā,[2] though neither a digest nor a commentary but a late dharmaśāstra work in continuous *anuṣṭubh* metre, deserves mention among the Smṛtis, quoted by Raghunandana, partly because of its obscurity and partly because of the importance of the subject-matter of the quotations from it, such as auspicious time for Tāntric initiation, fruits recommended for *haviṣya* diet and the *Rāmanavamī* festival.

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[1] p. 738, Jīvānanda's edition of Smṛtitattva, Vol. I (1895).

Raghunandana is always found fighting with the doctrines of the Maithila digest-writers, who, as we shall show below, are neither Śrīdatta nor Caṇḍeśvara, neither Vidyāpati nor Rudradhara but are possibly Vācaspati Miśra and Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, Raghunandana's immediate Maithila predecessors, some works of the former and most works of the latter of whom are still unpublished. Our author's greatness lies in the wonderful synthesis he has made of all the dicta of his predecessors on topics of dharmaśāstra. But some scholars, without realizing this greatness by making a critical study of his works, have made unwarranted remarks about him from time to time. Dr. S. K. De[3] has described the work of Raghunandana as great but narrowly conservative and his prescriptions as amounting to social tyranny, while Dr. Enamul Haque[4] has attributed the liberalness of Raghunandana's views to the influence of Sufism. The comprehensive list of the mediæval works and authors, smṛtic and astrological, quoted in the 28 works of Raghunandana, has been appended by the late Rai Bahadur Manmohan Chakravarti to his big paper, entitled 'Studies in the history of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā'.[5] But this list has not even been partially utilized by later scholars for the simple reason that Chakravarti has given no catch-words but only referred to the pages of the Serampore edition (1834-35) of Raghunandana's Smṛtitattva, which, being published more than a century ago, is now out of print and moreover, being printed in Bengali characters, is not accessible to most of the scholars outside Bengal. Mr. (now Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr.) P. V. Kane has allotted about four pages[6] to Raghunandana and though he has devoted a paragraph each to this author's Dāyatattva and commentary on Jīmūtavāhana's Dāyabhāga, yet he has said nothing about the other *tattvas* or works of Raghunandana, except making the following remark about them: 'It is not feasible to give even brief summaries of Raghunandana's *tattvas*. Their very names indicate the subject-matter.'[7] Time is now ripe for making a critical study of Raghunandana's works by a process of analysis and identification of the numerous quotations from both ancient and mediæval Sanskrit works, as almost all of the ancient and most of the mediæval works, i.e. digests and commentaries, composed by authors, enumerated above, in several parts of India in the five centuries, just preceding Raghunandana and immensely utilized by him in his works, have been published in the last five decades. The immensity of the work of indexing the quotations only, for the above identification, will be somewhat realized from the fact that neither the Bengali edition of Serampore nor the Devanāgarī edition of Jīvānanda contains indexes and moreover, the metrical or prose quotations are never differentiated from the author's comments in these two editions by the system of stanzas or paragraphs.

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[1] Edited by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LII, 1931.

[2] Edited by the same, Hitavādī Office, Calcutta, 1910.

[3] Vide p. 22, Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal, Calcutta, 1942.

[4] p. 185, Vaṅge Suphī-prabhāva (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1944.

[5] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XI (1915), pp. 311–406.

[6] pp. 416–19, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I (1930).

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 417.

It may be added here that the present writer has incidentally touched upon Raghunandana in some of his already published papers[1] on dharmaśāstra topics.

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[1] (*a*) The place of Agastyasaṁhitā in Dharmaśāstra Literature. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXII (1936), pp. 111–115.

(*b*) The Śuddhiratnākara: an unpublished Smṛti manuscript of Mithilā. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII (1937), pp. 138–142.

(*c*) Raghunandana's indebtedness to Caṇḍeśvara. *N.I.A.*, Vol. I (1938), pp. 534-5.

(*d*) Hindu pilgrimages of the 15th century. *Proc. All-India Oriental Conference*, Ninth Session, Trivandrum (published, 1940), pp. 415–420.

(*e*) Vidyāpati, a Maithila writer on Dharmaśāstra. *Ibid.*, Twelfth Session, Banaras (published, 1946), pp. 288–297.

(*f*) The devotional element in Raghunandana's works. *Siddhabhāratī* (published by the V.V.R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1950), Part I, pp. 225–229.

(*g*) The Rāmāyaṇa and its influence upon Ballāla Sena and Raghunandana. *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1952), pp. 18–22.

(*h*) Consecration of temples in the 16th century. *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. XIII (1952), pp. 11–16 (published, August, 1953).

CHAPTER II

Ancient Period—The Epics

Mr. (now Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr.) P. V. Kane has allotted sec. 32, consisting of two pages (pp. 158–60), to 'The Two Epics' in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I. The more important portion of the above section may be reproduced here:—

'The two epics, particularly the Mahābhārata, contain in numerous places passages bearing on dharmaśāstra and are relied upon as authoritative Smṛtis in later works. The Mahābhārata is styled a dharmaśāstra in the Ādiparva (2 : 83). The Rāmāyaṇa is pre-eminently a Kāvya; yet on account of its noble ideals it was almost as popular as the Mahābhārata and is relied upon as a source of *dharma* in the *nibandhas*, though much less frequently than the other great epic. The Ayodhyākāṇḍa (Canto 100) and the Āraṇyakāṇḍa (33) contain disquisitions on politics and state administration. * * *

For considerations of space it is impossible to enter into any discussion as to the age of these two epics, as to the earlier and later strata in them and other allied questions. These questions are passed over here as more appropriate to separate treatises on the epics. * * *.'

In the concluding portion of the above section Dr. Kane has given two tables to indicate where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the two Epics.

(*a*) The Rāmāyaṇa

The Ayodhyākāṇḍa (II. LXXIX. v. 12), which has been first utilized by Raghunandana in his Tithitattva (p. 135), is in connection with the oath of Bharata and purports, 'Let the (full-moon) *tithis* of the months of Āṣāḍha (June-July), Kārttika (October-November) and Māgha (January-February) pass away without any (*śrāddha*) gift being made in favour of him (i.e. the father Daśaratha), at whose instance the revered one (i.e. the oldest brother Rāma) has gone away (to exile).' This shows that the full-moon *tithis* of the above three months are highly auspicious for making *śrāddha* gifts.

The second utilization of the same Kāṇḍa is in the Āhnikatattva (p. 456), but as it is one of the long connected series of quotations from the same Kāṇḍa in the Śuddhitattva (to be described just below), we do not propose to deal with it separately here.

The third quotation from the Rāmāyaṇa is from the Āraṇyakāṇḍa (III. II. v. 24) and in the Śuddhitattva (p. 245) and is the same as the quotation on p. 64 of the Hāralatā of Aniruddha, which, as we shall see later on, was principally laid under contribution by Raghunandana in producing his Śuddhitattva in the shape of providing himself with original texts of earlier works and comments of Aniruddha thereon, relevant to the above-named work of the former. This third Rāmāyaṇa quotation is an utterance of Anasūyā, wife of Atri, about the *mahāguru* character of the husband to the wife and is to the following effect:—

'I see none else (but the husband) as a greater relation to a family woman (i.e. a wife). The husband is a friend, a resort, a guardian, a god and a guru, combined in one.' The above quotation has been utilized by our author in connection with the prescription of greater austerities to be performed by the widow in the mourning period, following her husband's death.

The fourth quotation from the Rāmāyaṇa, which is also in the Śuddhitattva (p. 323), is not a single verse but a combination of three groups of verses, two from the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (II. CXI. vv. 35-36 and II. XLI. v. 10) and one from the Yuddhakāṇḍa (VI. CIV. vv. 32*b*-33*a*). Raghunandana introduces these combined groups of verses, just after a text of the Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa, prescribing the duty of offering the ten *piṇḍas* for the person, who did the first one on the day of death (by reason of setting fire to the corpse). The purport of the first group is as follows:—

'After having mixed the *piṇḍas*, made of the oilcakes of the *iṅgudī* fruits along with palms, in the plate of grass, Rāma uttered the following words, "May it please Your Majesty to partake of this food which we ourselves take and which is an embodiment of a man and of the manes".' Our author adds that it is not to be concluded from the above quotation from the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, informing the readers about the repetition of the offering of *piṇḍas* by Rāma even after the performance of the same by Bharata that the ten *piṇḍas* are to be offered again by the proper person but that Rāma did it again in view of the futility of the observance of the same rite by Bharata, due to the curse of Daśaratha, recorded in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, which (i.e. the second group of verses) is to the following effect:—

'May not what Bharata will offer in favour of myself after my death, on securing this covetable kingdom and being recognized (as the ruler by his subjects), reach me.' Raghunandana continues by saying that it is not to be argued as to how he (i.e. Bharata) can make a *śrāddha* gift in the absence of his recognition by the people, otherwise the following prayer (i.e. the third group of verses) of Rāma, the best of the Raghu race, to Daśaratha after Sītā's ordeal becomes ineffective:—

'O you, conversant with *dharma*! please cast your favour on Kaikeyī and Bharata, as you said to Kaikeyī, "I have abandoned you with your son".'

The fifth quotation is also in the Śuddhitattva (p. 326) and from the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (II. LXXXVI. vv. 1*a*–6*a*) and has been introduced by our author to confirm the following prescription of Dakṣa, quoted by the former just above:—

'The sixteen *śrāddhas*, beginning with the first *śrāddha* and ending with the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, should be done by one (i.e. a son or similar other heir) only, even though the sons (or similar other heirs) may be divided in their estates.'

Our author comments on the word *ekena* (i.e. by one only), occurring in the above text, by saying that the word is unqualified, i.e. it may mean a person other than the eldest son or similar other heir and further says that consequently Bharata performed the first *śrāddha* out of the apprehension of not getting Rāma and winds up his argument by quoting the above group of verses from the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, which is to the following effect:—

'After ten days (i.e. days of mourning, here "twelve days" in the case of Bharata, who was a Kṣatriya, as interpreted by Raghunandana) had elapsed, Bharata, having been ceremonially purified according to proper rites, performed the *śrāddhas* to be performed after twelve and thirteen days respectively (reckoned from the day of death of his father, Daśaratha) and then made gifts of riches, costly jewels, cows, carriers, conveyances, men-servants, maid-servants, very big houses and principal ornaments to Brāhmaṇas for the spiritual benefit of his (deceased) father on the occasion of the obsequies of that king (i.e. his father, Daśaratha). After thirteen days (i.e. fourteen days, as interpreted by Raghunandana) had passed and other subsequent rites had been performed, all the ministers assembled together and said to Bharata, "That (former) king, who was both our supporter and preceptor, has gone to heaven (i.e. has died), after having sent to exile his dear sons, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. O you, who are also a son of the former king! just legally be our ruler from to-day".'

The only Rāmāyaṇa quotation in the Ekādaśītattva, the first of the two such in the Udvāhatattva and the last such in the Śuddhitattva are parts of the above lengthiest Rāmāyaṇa quotation, not only in the Śuddhi° but also in all the works of Raghunandana and so they do not deserve separate treatment here. But the second Rāmāyaṇa quotation in the Udvāha°, the only such in the Vyavahāra° and the last but one such in the Śuddhi°, which is the same as the second Udvāha° quotation, will now be treated in succession. The topics of the above three (which are really two) quotations are also different from that of all the above Rāmāyaṇa quotations, which is the performance of *śrāddha*, its proper time, proper person and proper articles of gift, consequent upon it. Raghunandana has introduced these two Sundarakāṇḍa quotations [V. 93. 13 (N.W.) and V. 92. 38 (N.W.)], to eulogize the religious merit of offering protection in the Udvāha° and Śuddhi° and to emphasize the importance of the demeanour of a witness in judging his reliability in the Vyavahāra°, which deals with judicial procedure. The utilization of the first of the above two Sundarakāṇḍa quotations in the Śuddhi°, dealing with ceremonial purification, is in its exhaustive chapter on gifts, while the incorporation of the same in the Udvāha°, dealing with marriage, is incidentally in connection with the above sacrament, which is also nothing but the gift of a girl by her father or other lawful guardian to a deserving bridegroom. The purport of the above two quotations, consisting of one verse only in each case, may be set out here:—

'The religious merit of the performance of a horse-sacrifice, followed by the giving of sufficient sacrificial fees to the officiating priests, is not equal to the same of the offering of protection to an intimidated person, asking for the same.'

'Though a person may try hard to conceal his outward appearance, it is impossible to do the same. On the contrary, the outward appearance forcibly speaks out, as it were, the inner workings of the mind of that man.'

(*b*) THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WITH THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

Though we have succeeded in identifying all the 18 quotations from the Bhagavadgītā, which, though a part of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata, has been separately mentioned by our author in connection with its quotations, yet we could not do so in relation to the numerous citations from the original work, the encyclopædic Mahābhārata. We have been able to identify 15 only of this latter kind of citations. The purport of these identified Mahābhārata quotations is first given below, with the subject-matter of each of the same successively prefixed to the quotation concerned:—

(1) *Marriage with the daughter of one's teacher*

After quoting a text of Sumantu, condemning among others marriage with the daughter of one's teacher, Raghunandana has quoted in the Udvāha° (p. 119) six connected but not continuous lines from the 77th chapter of the Ādiparvan (lines of vv. 1*b*, 5*b*, 7*b*, 8 and 17*a*), concerning the proposal of marriage to Kaca by Devayānī, the daughter of Śukrācārya, the teacher of the demons and the refusal of Kaca, on account of Devayānī being his teacher's daughter. The purport of the above lines is to the following effect:—

'Devayānī said to (Kaca), who was about to go back to his abode among the gods, "Just take my hand duly and after muttering the mantras". Kaca replied, "Honoured lady! you, being the daughter of my teacher, are always to be respected according to *dharma*. Just as your father Śukra, who is my teacher, is to be always revered, so you, Devayānī, are also to be similarly treated and it does not behove you to make such a proposal (of marriage) to me. I refuse your proposal as you are my teacher's daughter and not on account of any visible defects in you".'

(2) *Religious efficacy of bathing in the Gaṅgā water*

Our author has quoted both in the Tithitattva (p. 120) and in the Prāyaścittatattva (pp. 508-9) four connected but not continuous verses (vv. 11, 16, 23 and 24) of the 170th chapter of the Ādiparvan to prove the religious merit of bathing in the water of the Gaṅgā both in the daytime and at night, after quoting a verse to the same effect from the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa or the Brahmapurāṇa (according to the Tithi° and Prāyaścitta° quotations respectively). The purport of the above Mahābhārata verses with our author's introductory remark is as follows:—

'The words of the Gandharva in the Ādiparvan, relating to the rights of the night-roamers, are as follow: "So those, who are conversant with *Brahman* (i.e. the Supreme God), condemn all persons, even forest-dwellers and kings, who reach water at night". To this Arjuna replied thus: "O you, wicked one! who is restricted from using the sea, sides of the Himālayas and the river Gaṅgā even at night? The divine river (i.e. the Gaṅgā) is auspicious, unrestricted and the carrier of divine news. Why do you wish to impose restrictions on (the use of) that river? It is not the traditional *dharma*. Why should we be dissuaded by your warning from touching at our sweet will the holy water of the river, brought by Bhagīratha (i.e. the Gaṅgā), which is to be used unrestricted and unobstructed?"'

(3) *Religious utility of the daughter's son*

The Ādiparvan (chap. 116, v. 11) has been again quoted by our author in his Udvāha° (p. 147) in connection with the religious utility of the daughter's son. Raghunandana says:—

'So following are the words of Gāndhārī in the Ādiparvan, "A daughter, younger than (all of) my (hundred) sons will be born to me—a daughter, though one in number, yet more (useful) than my hundred sons. Then my husband will not be removable from the (spiritual) world, attainable by a person only through the agency of his daughter's sons".'

The above verse is the germ of the doctrine of spiritual benefit as the guiding principle of the Bengal School of the Hindu Law of Inheritance and also of the recognition by the same School of the several kinds of daughter's sons, e.g. of the deceased, of his father, grandfather, etc. as preferential heirs to the distant agnates.

(4) *Purification of a defiled bell-metal vessel*

The Śāntiparvan (Rājadharma—chap. 35, v. 31) has been utilized by our author in his Śuddhi° in the topic of 'purification of things'. The verse quoted means, 'A vessel of bell-metal, which has been either used in eating by a Śūdra or smelt by a cow or defiled by the tip of an elephant's trunk, is purified in ten (days)'.

Seven verses of the Anuśāsanaparvan (chap. 26, vv. 37 and 55, chap. 115, vv. 63, 64 and 76, chap. 122, v. 18 and chap. 141, v. 59) have been quoted by our author in his several works. Three of these quotations are in the Prāyaścitta °, while the rest are in the Tithi°, Malamāsa °, Śuddhi° and Kṛtya.°

(5) *Glorification of the Gaṅgā*

The purport of the two quotations from chap. 26, which are cited only two pages apart in the *gaṅgāmāhātmya* (i.e. glorification of the Gaṅgā) portion of the Prāyaścitta° (pp. 500 and 498), is to the following effect:—

'All the creatures, existing in the three worlds, if propitiated (after death) with libations of the holy water of the Gaṅgā, obtain the highest satisfaction. He, who pastes on his head (i.e. forehead) the mud, accumulated on the banks of the daughter of Jahnu (i.e. the Gaṅgā), gets the radiance of the sun simply for dispelling darkness (arising out of sin).'

(6) *Cāturmāsya-vrata or vow extending over four months*

The three quotations from chap. 115, cited together or almost together in the Malamāsa ° and Kṛtya ° [*sāmānya-śuddhi* (i.e. general purification) and *cāturmāsya-vrata* topics respectively], mean:—

'O lord of men! one should abstain from eating all kinds of flesh, specially in the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika (October-November), as *dharma* is thereby practised. He, who avoids flesh-eating during the four months of the year [beginning from the bright twelfth *tithi* of Āṣāḍha (i.e. June-July) to the same of Kārttika (i.e. October-November)], secures four covetable things, viz. fame in this world and in the next, long life and strength. * * * These and many other kings in days of yore did not partake of meat in the autumnal month of Kārttika and so they reached heaven.'

(7) *Religious efficacy of making gifts and penances*

The quotation from chap. 122 is in the very beginning of the Prāyaścitta° (p. 467) in its first topic, viz. definition of *prāyaścitta* (i.e. expiation). It purports that 'just as dirt is removed from the skin with the application of water and darkness vanishes out of fear (as it were) of fire, so all the sins (of a man) are destroyed by gifts and penances'.

(8) *Duties and privileges of a Śūdra*

The remaining quotation from the same parvan (chap. 141) is in the Malamāsa ° (p. 793) and concerns itself with the religious duties and privileges of a Śūdra. It is to the following effect:—

'A Śūdra, who abstains from the killing of animals, performs good acts and worships gods and Brāhmaṇas, gets his desired results of *dharma* by the practice of his allotted duties.'

The reading in the oblong Bombay ed. of the M. bh. is a little different from that of the above quotation and purports that 'a clever Śūdra, who is always tolerant, performs good acts and worships gods and Brāhmaṇas, receives his desired results of *dharma*'.

The Bhagavadgītā quotations

The Bhagavadgītā has been quoted 18 times by our author separately, as mentioned above, under the two appellations, viz. Bhagavadgītā and Gītā in his six works, viz. Tithi°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī° and Śuddhi°. The Tithi° quotation (pp. 175-6) is the same as one of the three quotations of the Ekādaśī° (pp. 13-14 at p. 14), which latter again are the same as the consolidated second quotation of the Śuddhi° (p. 367). So our work will be finished if we describe below the fourteen quotations from the Bh. g. in the following four works only of our author, viz. Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa° and Śuddhi°. These fourteen quotations again are from the following eight chapters only of the Bh. g., viz. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 9th, 11th, 17th and 18th.

Chap. I quot.

The only quotation from this chapter, which is in the Prāyaścitta° (p. 533) and consists of a half-verse only, is Arjuna's statement to Lord Kṛṣṇa that 'if they (i.e. the Pāṇḍavas) kill their enemies, sin will come upon them'. Our author has quoted it, along with a portion of the Āśvamedhikaparvan just following it, the latter quotation containing the prescription of the horse-sacrifice for removing the above sin for kings.

Chap. II quot.

The only quotation from this chapter, which is in the *tṛtīya-yāmārdha-kṛtya* (duties in the second quarter of the day) topic of the Āhnika° (p. 350) and also consists of a half-verse only, means, 'Be not a performer of acts with any desire and let not your attachments be to bad acts'.

Chap. III quot.

Three verses (viz. Nos. 12, 13 and 30) of this chapter have been quoted by our author on pp. 433 and 425 of the Āhnika° and on p. 837 of the Malamāsa° respectively. The purport of the above three verses is as follows:—

'Gods, being propitiated by sacrifices, give you (by rainfall) your foodstuff (consisting of grains). So he, who partakes of that foodstuff, given by the gods, without (ceremonially) giving it back to them, is a thief. The good, who eat the remnants of (the offerings of) the sacrifices (such as Vaiśvadeva), are relieved of all the (fivefold) sins (inevitable in a householder's life) and the wicked, who cook their food for their own sake (and not for offering it to the above sacrifices), partake of sin only. * * * Just go on fighting, after having surrendered (the result of) all actions to Me conscientiously and being bereft of any desire or attachment and devoid of any repentance (for not getting worldly objects).'

Chaps. V and IX quot.

The two verses from chaps. V and IX of the Bh. g., quoted by our author on p. 837 of his Malamāsa°, mean:—

'Having surrendered the results of one's actions to God (and not with any desire of personal gain), one attains the quiescence (called salvation), due to the self-less devotion, while one, who acts otherwise, is annihilated, being attached out of desire to the (earthly) results. * * *

O you, son of Kuntī (i.e. Arjuna)! just surrender to Me, whatever you do, eat or give, or whatever sacrifice or penance you perform.'

Our author has introduced the above two quotations from chaps. V and IX as well as the third one from chap. III, one after another on the same page of his Malamāsa° in the topic on *mumukṣu-kṛtya* (i.e. duties of a person, desirous of salvation after death). The portions within brackets in the extracts, given above and quoted by Raghunandana from chaps. III, V and IX of the Bh. g., are the renderings of our author's comments on difficult words of these extracts.

Chap. XI quot.

The only quotation from this chapter, which is on page 820 of the Malamāsa° and consists of a half-verse only, is to the following effect:—

'These (i.e. your enemies) have already (pūrvam) been killed by Me (i.e. God) and you Savyasācin (i.e. Arjuna)! just became an apparent cause of their death (by fighting and killing them).'

Our author adds after this quotation that like the word *pūrva* in this Bh. g. quotation, the same word, as part of the compound *pūrvasandhyāyām*, occurring in a text quoted by him just above, is descriptive of its etymology and so means 'previous' only and not 'of the previous day', as interpreted by the Maithilas and that consequently the compound word *pūrvasandhyāyām* means 'in the previous morning' and not 'in the evening of the previous day'. The text in question means, 'If there is a rattling of the cloud in the previous (i.e. already past) morning in the very day of the performance of the vow, the settled practice is that the vow is not to be performed on that day'. It should be noted in this connection that the Sanskrit word *sandhyā*, occurring in the above compound, means twilight, thus admitting of a twofold interpretation, i.e. either morning or evening.

Chap. XVII quot.

Eight verses (viz. Nos. 8–10, 23–26 and 28) of this chapter have been quoted by our author on p. 430 of his Āhnika° and on pp. 367 and 345 of his Śuddhi° respectively. The purport of the above verses is as follows:—

'Those articles of food, which increase life, goodness, strength, convalascence, pleasure and delight and which are beautiful, non-irritating, permanent and pleasing, are the favourites of the *sāttvika* class of persons. Those diets, which are either pungent or sour, salty or very hot, dry or painful, are coveted by the *rājasa* class of persons and these produce misery, bereavement and disease. Those things, which have either been produced in the previous night or become dehydrated or putrefied or are the leavings of another person's food or are uneatables, are liked by the *tāmasa* class of persons.

* * *

The three words, viz. *om*, *tat* and *sat* have been spoken of (by the sages) as the three names of *Brahman* (i.e. God) and in ancient times the Brāhmaṇas, the Vedas and the sacrifices were made of them. So duly made sacrifices, gifts and penances of the Brahmavādins (i.e. devoted persons) always begin with the word "*om*". Those, who aspire after salvation, commence their various sacrifices, gifts and penances with the word "*tat*". The word "*sat*", O son of Pṛthā (i.e. Arjuna)! is applied in a good temperament and in a plausible act. O son of Pṛthā (i.e. Arjuna)! whatever is sacrificed, given away or done, or whatever penance is performed with absence of *śraddhā* (i.e. charitable attitude) is called bad (or non-existent) and these do not conduce to the benefit of the performers of those acts either in this world or in the next.'

Chap. XVIII quot.

Four verses (Nos. 26–28 and 61) of this chapter have been quoted by our author in two groups on p. 350 and pp. 383-4 respectively of his Āhnika°, chaps. on *tṛtīya-yāmārdha-kṛtya* and *caturtha*° (duties in the second quarter of the day). The first group, consisting of the first three of the above four verses, is a description of the three kinds of agents, viz. *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* and purports:—

'That person, who is free from the desire of result, devoid of pride, full of patience and energy and is unmoved by the success or failure of actions, is called the *sāttvika* agent. The person, who is an orator (or "attached to the world", according to the Bh. g. reading), desirous of the result of actions, avaricious, aggressive, impure and full of joy and sorrow, according to occasion, is called the *rājasa* agent. The man, who is needless, thoughtless, haughty, wicked, detractor of the merits of others, lazy, dejected and procrastinating, is called the *tāmasa* agent.'

The second group, consisting of the verse 61 only, means:—

'O Arjuna! God exists in the hearts of all beings and directs them in their actions by His power (able to perform impossible things), just as a magician directs the actions of human and other likenesses on wooden machines by dint of his own magic.'

CHAPTER III

Ancient Period—The Dharmasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras (800 B.C.-300 B.C.)

Our author has utilized the Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Vaśiṣṭha and the Gṛhyasūtras of Āśvalāyana, Pāraskara and Gobhila, along with the Gṛhyāsaṁgraha of Gobhila's son. Of the latter class of works, the quotations of our author from the Gobhila-gṛhyasūtra, which prescribes the domestic rites of the followers of the Sāmaveda, are by far the largest in number, being comparable with those from the Manusmṛti and Viṣṇu-dharmottarapurāṇa (to be described below). The reason is obvious. Raghunandana, himself a Bengali Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇa of the Rāḍhīya sect, wrote most of the works, included within his encyclopædic Smṛtitattva, principally for the Sāmavedins, who outnumber the followers of other Vedas in Bengal, and occasionally allotted special volumes for the followers of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda. So we find that our author's Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Saṁskāra° and Chandogavṛṣotsarga° teem with quotations from the Gobhilagṛhyasūtra, which are also distributed over twelve other works. Of the above four works, the Śrāddha°, as distinguished from our author's Yajurvediśrāddha° and the Chandogavṛṣotsarga°, as distinguished from his Yajurvedivṛṣotsarga°, the word *chandoga* of the former meaning a Sāmavedin, are meant to be manuals for the followers of the Sāmaveda only. As the quotations from the Gobhilagṛhyasūtra cover almost all the *saṁskāras* (i.e. sacraments) and other domestic rites of a devout Hindu and are scattered over as many as sixteen works of our author and also as those from the other Gṛhyasūtras and all the Dharmasūtras consist of short sentences, so it has not been feasible to give here English renderings of even some of them.

CHAPTER IV

Ancient Period—The Smṛtis

(*a*) The Manusmṛti (200 B.C.–100 A.D.)

The Manusmṛti, in all its chapters with the solitary exception of the first one, has been copiously quoted in almost all the works of Raghunandana. The entire omission of the first chapter is due to the fact that it deals with introductory and cosmological matter, which latter topic is the subject of no work of our author, who was a digest-writer and not a philosopher. As Chapter II deals with *saṁskāras* before marriage, so it has been principally utilized by our author in his Saṁskāratattva and occasionally in his Tithi°, Āhnika°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī°, Śuddhi° and Śūdrakṛtyavicāraṇa°. As Chapter III contains the three topics of marriage, five *mahāyajñas* and *śrāddha*, so it has been mainly laid under contribution in the Udvāha°, Tithi°, Śrāddha° and Yajurvediśrāddha° and occasionally utilized in the Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Śuddhi° and Divya°. As Chapter IV concerns itself with the appropriate vows and means of livelihood of the Brāhmaṇa householder which are the special subject-matter of no work of our author, so he has utilized this chapter occasionally in his Tithi°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Udvāha° and Śuddhi°. As the contents of Chapter V are eatables and uneatables, ceremonial cleanliness, purification of things and the duties of women, so it has been principally laid under contribution by our author in his Śuddhi° and occasionally in his Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Āhnika°, Ekādaśī° and Udvāha°. As Chapter VI of the Manusmṛti is the shortest of all the chapters of the work, consisting as it does of 97 verses only and is concerned with penance and monasticism, the duties of the forest-dweller and of the recluse, and as our author has exclusively devoted no work to the above topics but incidentally discussed them in one or other of his works, so we find two half-verse quotations (Nos. 38*b* and 3*b*) only from this chapter in the Malamāsa° and Ekādaśī° respectively. As Chapter VII concerns itself with government and statecraft, which also form the subject-matter of no work of our author, so he has made only five quotations from it, covering verses 46–8, 182-3, 197*b*–200*b* and 210, in his Jyotis° and Malamāsa° only in the topics of vices and expedition. As Chapter VIII deals with law and administration of justice, including the law of evidence, so it has been principally utilized by our author in his Prāyaścitta°, Vyavahāra° and Divya° and occasionally in his Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Dāya° and Śuddhi°. As the contents of Chapter IX are the duties of husband and wife, partition, gambling, punishment of criminals and the duties of Vaiśyas and Śūdras, so this chapter has been principally incorporated by our author in his Udvāha°, Dāya° and Śuddhi° and occasionally utilized by him in his Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Prāyaścitta°, Vyavahāra° and Śrīpuruṣottama°. As the subject-matter of Chapter X is two-fold, viz. the origin of the mixed castes and *āpad-dharma* (i.e. means of livelihood which may be adopted by a person, in case he cannot earn his living by following the appropriate calling of his caste), so we find our author utilizing it principally in his Āhnika° (in the *āpad-dharma* topic) and occasionally in his Prāyaścitta° (in the topic of mixed castes), Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī° and Śuddhi°. As *prāyaścitta* (i.e.

expiation) is the sole subject-matter of Chapter XI, so our author has principally laid it under contribution in his Prāyaścitta° and occasionally utilized it in his Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī° and Śuddhi°. As Chapter XII is filled with miscellaneous topics, such as *karmavipāka* (i.e. results of one's actions in future lives), several classes of customs and the conventions of the *pāṣaṇḍas* (i.e. persons outside the pale of orthodox Hinduism) and of the trade-guilds, so we find that our author, who has devoted no work to this mixed subject-matter, has occasionally utilized this chapter in his Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa° and Vyavahāra° only and verses 9 and 106, 89-90 and 111 have been respectively quoted by him in his above three works.

Apart from smaller quotations, consisting of one or two verses only, there are also some bigger quotations of three or more verses at a stretch. We append below a list of the same with their distribution and subject-matter:—

(1) Three verses (58, 60-61) of Chapter III in the Prāyaścitta° (p. 533) on the enumeration of the five *sūnās* (i.e. necessary elements of a householder for domestic purposes, e.g. the hearth, the threshing floor, the broomstick, the mortar and the water-jar, which cause loss of animal life in their very use) and the enumeration of the five *mahāyajñas* (such as teaching, propitiation of the manes, sacrifices, food offerings to animals and hospitality), the constant practice of which relieves a Brāhmaṇa householder of the inevitable sins, resulting from the use of the above five *sūnās*;

(2) Three verses (216–218) of Chapter III on *pariveṣana* (i.e. serving of the dishes) in the Śrāddha° (pp. 229-30);

(3) Eleven verses (207–223 with omissions) of Chapter IV on the list of persons, whose food cannot be partaken of, in the Āhnika° (pp. 451-2);

(4) Four verses (229–232) of the same chapter in the Śuddhi° (p. 364) on the appropriate kinds of religious merit, accruing from sixteen specified classes of gifts such as of water, food, sesame, lamp, land, gold, house, silver, wearing apparel, horse, ox, cow, conveyance and bed, protection, paddy and knowledge of the Vedas;

(5) Seven verses (15*b*–36*a* with omissions) of Chapter V on the eating of fish and flesh in the Āhnika° (p. 449) with the kinds of and procedure of eating, the same;

(6) Three verses (46–48) of Chapter VII in both the Jyotis° (pp. 716-7) and Malamāsa° (p. 742) on the enumeration of the vices, arising out of lust and anger;

(7) Three verses and a half (197*b*–200*b*) of the same chapter in the Malamāsatattva (pp. 742-3) on the application by a king of *sāma* (conciliation), *dāna* (making gifts or presents) and *bheda* (causing dissensions) upon an enemy before plunging in an actual war with him;

(8) Four verses and a half (68, 69*b*, 70, 87-88) of Chapter VIII in the Vyavahāra° (pp. 214-5) on the eligibility of several classes of persons to depose as witnesses and on the several kinds of procedure for eliciting the deposition from different classes of witnesses;

(9) Three verses and a half (9, 11-12 and 19*a*) of Chapter X in the Prāyaścitta° (pp. 540-1) on the origin of the several mixed castes;

(10) Three verses (101–3) of the same chapter in the Śuddhi° (p. 362) on the special privileges of Brāhmaṇas to accept any means of livelihood, when hard pressed with poverty;

(11) Three verses (99, 100 and 116) of the same chapter in the Āhnika° (pp. 353-4) on the privilege of a Śūdra to adopt the profession of a craftsman in dire distress and the enumeration of the ten ways of earning one's livelihood, when in distress and irrespective of one's caste, viz. teaching,

craftsmanship, service, menial service, tending cattle, trade, agriculture, contentment, begging and usury; and

(12) Nine verses (107–115) of Chapter XI in the Prāyaścitta° (p. 519) on the procedure of the expiation of a person, tainted with an *upapātaka* (i.e. a minor sin).

(*b*) THE YĀJÑAVALKYASMṚTI (100 A.D.–300 A.D.)

The Yājñavalkyasmṛti, which is divided into three chapters, viz. ācāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta and consists of 366, 306 and 334 verses respectively, has been quoted by our author in his following fifteen works only, viz. Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Dāya°, Vyavahāra°, Śuddhi°, Yajurvedi-śrāddha°, Divya° and Śūdrakṛtyavicāraṇa°. Our author's quotations from the first two chapters of the Yāj., which are over 100 in each case, far outnumber those from the third one, which are about 25 only. So we find that nearly one-fourth portion of the contents of the Yāj. has been incorporated by our author in his several works. The quotations generally consist of one or two verses, while those, consisting of three or more verses, are only nine in number. A list of these nine citations is given below, along with their distribution and subject-matter:—

(1) I. 11*a*–13*a* on the proper times of the eight *saṁskāras* (i.e. sacraments), beginning with *garbhādhāna* (i.e. impregnation) and ending with *cūḍā* (i.e. tonsure), quoted both in the Malamāsa° (p. 747) and in the Saṁskāra° (p. 908);

(2) I. 58–61 on the enumeration and definition of the eight forms of marriage, such as *brāhma*, *daiva*, etc., quoted in the Udvāha° (p. 128);

(3) I. 63–65 on the list of persons who can give away a girl in marriage, one in default of the other, the absolute liability of the guardian of a girl, who has attained puberty, to give her away in marriage and the right of such a girl to choose her own husband in the absence of any guardian to do so and the desirability of giving a girl in marriage to a better bridegroom than the one to whom she has been already betrothed, quoted in the same work (p. 127);

(4) I. 204–6 on the religious merit and procedure of making gifts of several kinds of cows, viz. a gold-horned and silver-hoofed cow, a *kapilā* or dark-brown cow and a cow when she is just on the point of giving birth to a calf (and therefore styled *ubhayatomukhī*), quoted in the Śuddhi° (p. 365);

(5) I. 293*b*–307*a*, consisting of 14 verses and being thus the biggest quotation from the Yāj., on the procedure of propitiating the planets with the desire of attaining peace or prosperity, cited in the Saṁskāra° (pp. 943-4);

(6) II. 13–15 on the demeanour of witnesses, quoted in the Vyavahāra° (p. 218);

(7) II. 27–29 on the relatively probative force of documents and possession, quoted in the same work (p. 224);

(8) II. 100–102 on the procedure of the ordeal of balance, quoted in the Divya° (p. 589); and

(9) III. 7–14 on the procedure, subsequent to the offering of libations of water to the just cremated person, including the entrance to the house of the same by those, engaged in the cremation, quoted in the Śuddhi° (p. 318).

(*c*) THE NĀRADASMṚTI (100 A.D.–400 A.D.)

The Nāradasmṛti has been quoted in the following ten works of our author not less than 112 times, of which 79 have been identified by us, viz.

Tithi°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Udvāha°, Dāya°, Vyavahāra°, Śuddhi° and Divya°. As the Nāradasmṛti deals with *vyavahāra* (i.e. law and procedure) only, so all these quotations relate to inheritance, other titles of law and judicial procedure and most of these are in the Dāya°, Vyavahāra° and Divya°, which deal with inheritance, procedure and ordeals respectively. The work of identification of these Nāradasmṛti quotations in the Nāradasmṛti itself has yielded many interesting results. First, in some cases only parts of long quotations could be traced in the printed Smṛti and secondly, the readings of the latter are in many cases meaningless and corrupt. As instances of these two classes of findings may be pointed out the quotation on pp. 205-6 of the Vyavahāra°, consisting of two verses and relating to the enumeration and description of the five kinds of the *hīna* (i.e. deficient) class of defendants and the first group of four verses on p. 232 of the same work, concerning the void character of the legal transactions of several classes of persons. In the first case, the second verse, descriptive of the five kinds of deficient defendants, enumerated in the first one and thus closely connected with the latter (= Nār. 2/33) is absolutely wanting in the printed Nāradasmṛti. In the second case, the third line (= Nār. 4/41*a*) is differently read in the Narādasmṛti and Vyavahāra° as given below:—

Nār.	Vyavahāra°
कामक्रोधाभिभूतार्तभयव्यसनपीडिताः	कामक्रोधाभिभूता वा भयव्यसनपीडिताः

Here the Vyavahāra° reading °भूता वा° is more sensible and thus definitely better than the Nār. reading "भूतार्त". Thirdly, the readings of the printed Nāradasmṛti in some cases, though not corrupt, are different from those, preserved in the several works of our author, the differences being sometimes trivial and sometimes serious enough to alter the sense of the texts themselves. For example, the text of Nārada, enumerating the principal categories of crime, has been differently read in the printed text of the above Smṛti (17/2) and the Vyavahāra° (pp. 213-214) respectively, as given below:—

Nār.	Vyavahāra°
मनुष्यमारणं स्तेयं परदाराभिमर्शनम् । पारुष्यं द्विविधं ज्ञेयं साहसं च चतुर्विधम् ॥	मनुष्यमारणं स्तेयं परदाराभिमर्षणम् । पारुष्यमनृतञ्चैव साहसं पञ्चधा स्मृतम् ॥

That is, according to the printed Nār., *sāhasa* (crime of violence) is of four kinds, viz. manslaughter, theft, violence to the wives of others and the two kinds of *pāruṣya* (i.e. abuse and assault, treated as one head), while, according to the Vyavahāra° quotation, *sāhasa* is of five kinds, viz. manslaughter, theft, violence to the wives of others, *pāruṣya* and falsehood. Lastly, though the Nāradasmṛti was presumably not lost at the time of our author as is apparent from his many original, i.e. first-hand quotations from the former, yet our author sometimes makes second-hand quotations, i.e. cites a text of Nārada, as quoted by an earlier commentator or digest-writer. The quotation on p. 111 of the Udvāha°, the citation in the same work on pp. 136-7, the second quotation on p. 224 of the Vyavahāra°, the citation on p. 277 of the Śuddhi° and that on pp. 588-9 of the Divya° are the five instances of this second-hand quotation, which were culled by our author from Harināthopādhyāya, the Vivādacintāmaṇi (a digest of Vācaspati Miśra), the Dīpakalikā (a commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti by Śūlapāṇi), Rāghavabhaṭṭa and the Yājñavalkyadīpakalikā which is the same as the third work. The B.I. edition (1885) of the Nāradasmṛti is out of print for several decades and a revised edition of the same is long overdue. The future editor of this revised reprint, besides collating the extant Nāradasmṛti MSS., must needs take into consideration the numerous Nārada quotations in the works of Raghunandana and other mediæval digest-writers and commentators for purposes of correction and completion of the older edition.

(*d*) THE PARĀŚARASMṚTI (100 A.D.–500 A.D.)

The Parāśarasmṛti has been quoted 21 times and its commentary by Madhavācārya 9 times in the following eight works of our author, viz. Tithi°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Udvāha°, Dāya°, Śuddhi°, and Vāstuyāga°. Only seven, i.e. one-third portion of these Parāśarasmṛti quotations, could be traced in the two volumes, viz. ācāra and prāyaścitta kāṇḍas of the printed Smṛti, while as many as 6 of the 9 commentary quotations could be identified in the accompanying commentary portion of the above Smṛti by Madhavācārya. Our author sometimes cites from this commentary by the name only of the commentator, viz. Madhavācārya and sometimes by the phrase *parāśarabhāṣya* (i.e. commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti) and only once (p. 127 of U.T.) introduces his quotation with the sentence *parāśarabhāṣye madhavācāryeṇa likhitam* (i.e. written by Madhavācārya in his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti). But curiously enough, one long group of verses on *Kalivarjya*, i.e. practices forbidden in the Kali age (pp. 273-4 of S.T.), said to be quoted from the Ādityapurāṇa by Parāśara, another (p. 290 of S.T.) from the Parāśarasmṛti itself and a third (p. 333 of A.T.) from Vṛddhaparāśara have been traced, not in the original Smṛti but in the above commentary on the same. Though Parāśarasmṛti is one of the earliest and most important Smṛtis and has been highly eulogized by itself (Vol. I, chap. I, v. 24) to be the only Smṛti, appropriate to the present Kali age, by the sentence *Kalau pārāśarāḥ smṛtāḥ*, yet our author's quotations from this Smṛti are not numerous, amounting to 30 only, including those from its commentary by Madhavācārya (1330–1385 A.D.).

(*e*) THE YOGI-YĀJÑAVALKYASMṚTI (600 A.D.–650 A.D.)

This Smṛti is different from the famous Yājñavalkyasmṛti, as its very name implies. It has been recently (1951) critically edited on the collation of two MSS. and published from Lonavla in the district of Poona under the caption 'Bṛhat-yogiyājñavalkyasmṛti'. It consists of twelve chapters with verses varying between 20 and 198 in the individual chapters. Our author's quotations from this Smṛti are in the following seven works only, viz. Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Ekādaśī°, Chandogavṛṣotsarga° and Maṭhapratīṣṭhādi° only. These quotations have been culled from the following seven chapters only of the Yogi-yāj., viz. I, II, IV, VI, VII, VIII and IX. The quotations in the Āhnikatattva are by far the largest in number, being not less than 30, while those in the other works, taken together, reach half the above number. The reason is obvious. The Yogi-yāj. deals with the preliminary and concluding portions of the religious rites and are hence more or less formal in character and the Āhnika° is concerned with the formal aspect of the daily observances. The citations from the seventh chapter of the Yogi-yāj., concerned as they are with ceremonial ablutions, outnumber those from the other quoted chapters. Most of all these 45 quotations are found in the printed text, while the missing ones in the Appendix, which has been compiled by the editors from several digests, containing the quotations from the Yogi-yāj., missing in the printed text. Though the editors have laid many digests except our author's encyclopædia under contribution for the reconstruction of this missing portion, yet the occurrence of our author's missing quotations in their Appendix lends additional weight to the almost comprehensiveness of this reconstructed portion.

(*f*) THE AGASTYASAMHITĀ (BEFORE 1270 A.D.)

The Agastyasaṁhitā has been quoted by our author in the following six works, viz. Tithi°, Āhnika°, Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī°, Kṛtya° and Dīkṣā°, on four topics, viz.:—

(1) the Rāmanavamī festival (Chs. 26–28),
(2) the offering to gods of flowers, culled from other persons' trees without securing their permission (Ch. 13, v. 46),
(3) the auspicious times of tāntric initiation (Ch. 17, vv. 3–14), and
(4) the fruits and other eatables, allowed in a *haviṣya* diet (Ch. 16, vv. 26–28).

The quotation of a long group of verses, relating to the first topic, has been utilized by our author in both the Tithi° and Kṛtya°, a single verse from the Ag. sam., concerning the second topic, in both the Āhnika° and Ekādaśī°, another long group of verses, regarding the third topic, in both the Malamāsa° and Dīkṣā° and a third group of verses, enumerating the fourth topic, in both the Ekādaśī° and Kṛtya°. We append below the purport of the above four groups of verses, one after another:—

(1) *The Rāmanavamī festival*

Rāma, who is but an incarnation of the God Hari, was born on the ninth lunar day of the bright half of the month of *Caitra* (March-April). If in any year that lunar day coincides with the asterism of *Punarvasu*, it becomes highly auspicious and confers immense good on the worshipper. If the coincidence of the asterism with the lunar day occurs in the midday, the festival is then of the holiest character possible. The period of duration of the Rāmanavamī festival is more sacred than that of ten millions of solar eclipses. The Supreme Being fully manifested Himself as Rāma in the womb of Kausalyā, when the sun had gone to the Aries and the *lagna* was *Karkaṭa*. The rites, performed on the anniversary of that day in honour of the God Rāma, conduce to the salvation of the performer. Persons, wishing to attain the neighbourhood of the Supreme Being, should fast and offer oblations to the Fathers on that day and abstain from sleep in the night following it. The fool, who eats on this day, surely suffers in the horrible *Kumbhīpāka* hell. All persons should shower on this day bounties on the deserving, according to their circumstances, and charities, however small, if made on that day, will have the spiritual effect of great ones, like the *tulāpuruṣa* (i.e. the great gift of weighing gold or other precious metals against one's own body). The simple performance of the Rāmanavamī festival confers on the performer the spiritual benefit, accruing from the repeated munificence on solar eclipse days in the holy spot of Kurukṣetra. The ninth lunar day, if beginning from the middle of a solar day, will be discarded by the devotees of the God Viṣṇu, who will fast on the following solar day and break their fasts on the next following day. They will then entertain out of devotion Brāhmaṇas with various kinds of food and honour them with *dakṣiṇā* and thus become themselves fulfillers of their own resolve and propitiate Rāma instantaneously. They will then worship the other members of the family of Rāma after securing His permission.

The God Rāma will be meditated upon as possessing tender limbs, large eyes, shining like blue lotuses and Daśaratha as busy in taking hold of his son in the right side, while the god Lakṣmaṇa with golden lustre and carrying an umbrella should be standing in the back, both Bharata and Śatrughna, with fans of palmyra-leaves in hand, being on both sides, and the busy Hanumat, seeking the favour of Rāma, standing in front.

'Rāma, who is none other than the God Hari, was born for putting the ten-mouthed (i.e. Rāvaṇa) to death, re-establishing *dharma,* destroying the demons and the *daityas* and saving the good persons. Please take along with your three brothers this *arghya* (offering out of respect), given by me.'

After uttering the above mantra the devotee should worship Him and pass the day and night without rest.

(2) *The offering to gods of flowers, etc.*

The worship of the person, who adores (a god) after bringing flowers from trees, planted by another person and without his consent ('with his consent', according to the reading in E.T.), is rendered fruitless. [The Ag. sam. reads as the A.T.].

Raghunandana, after quoting the above, says both in A.T. and E.T. that the text applies to (worshipping) persons other than the twice-born classes. Our author then substantiates his above proposition by quoting other texts of similar contents.

(3) *The auspicious times of tāntric initiation*

That is the proper time for initiation, when the preceptor, being pleased and wearing a happy look, offers it (to the disciple). But the following particulars should be borne in mind in this connection. The preceptor, who must be pure in mind and must have restrained his senses, should in an auspicious time and place fast, make his resolve and place the sanctified jar and, after having performed the *nāndīmukha* (i.e. prosperity-increasing) śrāddha, utter blessings according to his own gṛhyasūtra. Misery, death, loss of friends, destruction and loss of knowledge befall a person, who is initiated in the months of Caitra (March-April), Jyaiṣṭha (May-June), Āṣāḍha (June-July), Bhādra (August-September) and Pauṣa (December-January) respectively. But acquisition of gems, prosperity, all-round good, knowledge, happiness, increase of intelligence and prosperity come to persons, who are initiated in the months of Vaiśākha (April-May), Śrāvana (July-August), Āśvina (September-October), Kārttika (October-November), Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December), Māgha (January-February) and Phālguna (February-March) respectively. One should get oneself initiated in either of the following week days, viz., Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, but should positively avoid an intercalary month. The ceremony of initiation should be performed under the ascendancy of the following asterisms, viz., Aśvinī, Bharaṇī, Svāti, Viśākha, Hastā, Jyeṣṭha, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttarabhādrapada and Uttaraphālgunī. The second, fifth, seventh, tenth and thirteenth lunar days and the full-moon days are the most suitable for initiation and confer (upon the initiated person) the fulfilment of all his desires.

One should have one's initiation performed in a day, fit for worship with five requisites (*pañcopacāra*), when the moon, the stars, Jupiter and Mercury are up and in an auspicious interval of time, due to twelve purifying elements and when the moon and the stars are in positions, favourable to the performer. All other religious acts are also recommended to be performed in those periods of time. No other period is so auspicious as that of a solar eclipse and anything, then performed, produces unlimited good results.

(4) *List of fruits, etc.*

The learned consider the following things, along with others, recommended in other vows, allowable in a *haviṣya* diet (i.e. a diet, consisting of rice, mixed with *havis*, i.e. ghee and along with several unseasoned vegetables and prescribed fruits):—

Cow's milk, and curds and ghee made of it, cane-sugar without jaggery, cocoanut, plantain, *lavalī*, mango, myrabolan, jackfruit and *harītakī*.

CHAPTER V

Ancient Period—The Purāṇas

(a) THE MAHĀPURĀṆAS—THE BHĀGAVATAPURĀṆA (300 A.D.–600 A.D.)

Though among the Mahāpurāṇas thē Vāyu°, Matsya°, Padma°, Nāradīya°, Bṛhannāradīya°, Agni°, Garuḍa°, Brahma°, Skanda°, Brahmavaivarta° and Bhāgavata° have been quoted in the various works of our author, yet the citations from the Bhāgavata° (also called Śrīmadbhāgavata), sometimes along with its well-known commentary by Śrīdharasvāmin, are the most numerous as well as the most important. Our author has quoted from the Bhāgavata° in the following ten works, viz., Tithi°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Dāya° and Śuddhi°. The quotations are not less than 32 in number, those in the Saṁskāra° and Udvāha° and most of those in the Ekādaśī° being the same as some of those in the other seven works and they have, therefore, not been included in the above enumeration. These 32 quotations, again, are from the following *skandhas* (i.e. parts) only of the Bhāgavata°, which consists of 12 *skandhas*, viz., 1st, 3rd, 5th–8th, 10th and 11th. In nine out of these thirty-two quotations, our author has also cited the corresponding portions of the commentary of Śrīdharasvāmin and thirteen of all these quotations are from the 11th *skandha* alone, while the rest are from the remaining seven *skandhas*, specified above. We propose to describe here these remaining 19 quotations only, which are really sixteen, three being repetitions and leave out of consideration the 13 *skandha*—XI quotations, which are rather lengthy and of a highly devotional character.

Skandha I

The first quotation from this skandha (chap. 2, v. 4) is regarding the procedure to be adopted in the recital of the glorified stories of gods, the second one (chap. 9, vv. 43-44, 46) is concerning the death scene of Bhīṣma and the performance of the obsequial rites of that great man, finally released from worldly bondage, by Yudhiṣṭhira, the third one (chap. 13, v. 58) is Nārada's prediction to Yudhiṣṭhira about Gāndhārī's burning herself to death in the same funeral pyre with her deceased husband, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, while the fourth quotation (chap. 17, vv. 32, 38, 39 and 41*a*) is a report of the following conversation between the king Parīkṣit and Kali:—

'Along with your (i.e. Kali's) presence in a human body the following vices begin to assert themselves, viz., avarice, theft, wickedness, apostasy, adversity, illusion, quarrel and pride. * * * Being propitiated by Kali, the Lord apportioned the following things to Kali, viz., gambling, drinking, women and the indispensable implements of a householder, the sources of four-fold vices. Being again asked, the Lord gave him gold, falsehood, pride, lust and enmity, which is the fifth in the above list. So a person, aspiring to be great, should never resort to the above.'

Skandha III

The only quotation from this *skandha* (chap. 30, vv. 23-24) is to the following effect:—

'Then he (i.e. the dead person), being carried over 99,000 *yojanas* (i.e. about 8,91,000 miles) swiftly by the wicked (messenger of Yama, the God of Death) to the abode of the latter in two or three *muhūrtas* (i.e. 96 or 144 minutes), experiences pain (for that period).'

Our author prescribes on the authority of the above text burning of a dead body after the lapse of twelve *daṇḍas* (i.e. 4 hours and 48 minutes), as the going only to the abode of Yama, the God of Death, is accomplished by the swiftest messenger in two or three *muhūrtas* and the double journey in four or six *muhūrtas* (i.e. 192 or 288 minutes, which latter is equal to 4 hours 48 minutes = 12 *daṇḍas*), (in case the dead person comes back to life, being first wrongly carried and then returned by Yama).

Skandha V

The only quotation from this *skandha* (chap. 26, v. 31) is regarding the prohibition of sacrificing and eating even male animals, the sacrifice and eating of female animals being absolutely forbidden according to the dharmaśāstra.

Skandha VI

The first quotation from this *skandha* (chap. 9, v. 50) is to the effect that a learned person should not direct a fool to the performance of actions with an end in view, just as a good physician does not prescribe unwholesome diet to a patient, hankering after the same. The second quotation (chap. 19, v. 20) is concerning the partaking of the food, dedicated to God, for purification of the self and fulfilment of all the desires of a woman, performing the *puṁsavana* vow (i.e. ceremony of a pregnant woman to secure a male child).

Skandha VII

The first quotation from this *skandha* (chap. 5, vv. 23-24) is to the effect that hearing, recital, remembering, service, worship and glorification of, surrender of the fruits of work to, faith in and dedication of one's own self to, Viṣṇu by a person constitute *bhakti* (i.e. devotion) in its nine aspects. The second quotation (chap. 7, vv. 51-52) purports that neither Brahmanhood nor godliness nor saintliness, neither good conduct nor experience nor making gifts, neither penance nor sacrifice nor cleanliness nor vow is sufficient for the satisfaction of God who is pleased by spotless devotion and by the faith that everything else is trash.

Skandha VIII

The only quotation from this *skandha* (chap. 16, vv. 39–41) lays down that one should worship God Keśava (a name of Viṣṇu) with unguents, flowers and similar other things and with the formula of twelve syllables (i.e. *oṁ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*, meaning 'I bow down to the Lord Vāsudeva'), and if possessed of wealth, one should offer *śāli* rice, cooked with milk and along with ghee and jaggery, and perform sacrifice to fire with the original formula (given above) and then either offer the dedicated food to a votary of the God or partake of it oneself.

Skandha X

The first quotation from this *skandha* (chap. 12, v. 37, Śrīdharasvāmin's commentary quoting the above text) defines 'childhood (*Kaumāra*) up to the fifth year, boyhood (*pogaṇḍa*) up to the tenth year, adolescence (*kaiśora*) up to the fifteenth year and youth (*yauvana*) beyond that.' The second citation (chap. 22, v. 1*b*) is to the effect that the cowherd girls, partaking of the *haviṣya* diet, performed the vow of the worship of the goddess Kātyāyanī and our author has quoted this to establish the vow-character of the worship of the goddess Durgā. The third quotation (chap. 53, vv. 12-13) contains the description of the future marriage of Rukmiṇī in the following words:—

'The best of the Brāhmaṇas performed protection of the bride with mantras of the Sāma-, Yajur- and Ṛgvedas, while the priest, proficient in the Atharvaveda, performed sacrifices (*homa*) for the propitiation of the planets. The king (i.e. Rukma, father of Rukmiṇī), who was the best of the persons, conversant with the religious procedure, gave away to the Brāhmaṇas gold, silver, clothes, sesame, mixed with jaggery and cows.'

Our author has utilized the above quotation twice (p. 591 of J.T. and p. 125 of U.T.) to extol the efficacy of performing rites for the propitiation of the malignant planets in relation to a person's destiny. The fourth quotation (chap. 64, vv. 16–18, 24*b*) is rather a long one, consisting of the episode of Nṛga, which is to the following effect:—

'The cow of a certain illustrious Brāhmaṇa was led astray and mixed up with my (i.e. Nṛga's) cattle. I, who was ignorant of that affair, gave that away out of my horde to another Brāhmaṇa. When the real owner (i.e. the former Brāhmaṇa) saw it being taken away, he said, "It is mine", to which my donee (i.e. the latter Brāhmaṇa) replied, "It is mine. Nṛga has given it away to me". The two Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the latter and the former) quarrelling together for the assertion of their individual ownership, called me the donor and the stealer respectively. Hearing this, I was in a puzzle. * * * So long as I was reduced to the state of a chameleon for that sin, I saw myself, O Lord, in that very body.'

Our author has quoted this episode in his Dāya° (pp. 182-3) to prove that the proposition that one is not guilty of theft, if one steals a thing of another person, thinking it to be one's own, is wrong. The fifth quotation (chap. 86, v. 23*b*) consists of a half-verse and is to the effect that 'they (i.e. the townsmen and the villagers) bowed down to him (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) with their hands, folded on their heads' and our author has quoted this to establish that the touch of the head with folded hands is a form of obeisance.

(*b*) THE UPAPURĀṆAS—THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARAPURĀṆA
(500 A.D.–1000 A.D.)

Though among the Upapurāṇas the Devī°, Kalikā° and Nandikeśvara° have been occasionally quoted by our author in his several works, yet the Viṣṇudharmottara quotations are by far the most numerous and most important of the Upapurāṇa citations. Of the 28 works of our author, as many as the following seventeen contain quotations from the V.D., amounting to about 250:—

'Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśi°, Udvāha°, Vyavahāra°, Śuddhi°, Vāstuyāga°, Kṛtya°, Devapratiṣṭhā°, Jalāśayotsarga°, Chandogavṛṣotsarga° and Maṭhapratiṣṭhādi°.' The quotations are almost fairly distributed over the three khaṇḍas (or parts) of the V.D. Those from the first khaṇḍa are from chaps. 4, 60, 72, 140–42 and 147, those from the second one from chaps. 29, 34, 52, 73, 75–77, 79, 82, 85, 88, 89, 91, 92, 95, 116, 117, 124, 134, 140, 143 and 158 and those from the third one are from chaps. 301, 316, 317, 319 and 341 only. Six only of the above copious quotations (three from Khaṇḍa I, one from Khaṇḍa II and two from Khaṇḍa III) contain the specific number of the khaṇḍa of the V.D., which our author invariably calls Kāṇḍa and of these six the only quotation from the V.D. (II. 95. 28-29) in the Devapratiṣṭha° (p. 512) is prefixed with a wrong numbering of the khaṇḍa of the former, as is evident from the phrase, viz. *viṣṇudharmottare prathama* (i.e. first)—*Kāṇḍam*. The quotations are mostly regarding tithi, śrāddha and dāna, though verses relating to devapūjā, śuddhi and general conduct are also to be found here and there among them. The longest group of quotations, which is on dāna, is from chap. 341 (vv. 22–131 with omissions) of Khaṇḍa III in the Maṭhapratiṣṭhādi° (pp. 628–30).

The Ancient Period is now closed. As the quotations from works of this period consist of original texts, which are mostly verses (except in the case of the Dharmasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras which are written in prose aphorisms) and the authors of which are traditionally supposed to be infallible sages, so all these citations have been implicitly accepted as authoritative by our author, along with similar other mediæval digest-writers in the several provinces of India and consequently no question of refutation of the prescriptions, laid down by these original texts, arises. But this has not precluded the possibility of our author's and similar other writers' occasional rejection of some of these texts, when the original works, embodying the same, were either lost or supposed to be tampered with and the texts themselves had to be quoted from digests, containing the same. Cases of rejection of the original texts occurred when either the more authoritative digests had stamped them out as spurious or the less authoritative ones had quoted them, the former remaining silent in those very cases. We shall come across such cases of rejection in our treatment of the Mediæval Period (Appendix portion).

CHAPTER VI

Mediæval Period—Bengal

Of the six sources of law, recognized in Modern European Jurisprudence,[1] viz. custom, religion, equity, scientific discussion, adjudication and legislation, Raghunandana's works, like similar mediæval digests of other provinces of India, exhibit traces of having been influenced by the first and the fourth, viz. custom and scientific discussion. Bengal, the easternmost province of the sub-continent of India and surrounded on almost three sides by mountains and the sea, developed characteristics, which differentiated her from the rest of the country in her peculiar alphabet, mode of worship, law of inheritance, art and architecture. Consequently as the Bengal customs had remained practically the same throughout the five centuries (1050 A.D.–1550 A.D.) just preceding Raghunandana, so he has almost always abided by and made a reconciliation of the decisions of his nine Bengal predecessors, viz. Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Aniruddha, Ballāla Sena, Halāyudha, Kullūka, Śūlapāṇi, Rāyamukuṭa and Śrīnātha. We shall now treat with these nine Bengal predecessors, one after another.

(*a*) BHAVADEVA BHAṬṬA (1050–1150 A.D.)

Apart from a *paddhati* of this author, relating to the domestic rites of the Sāmavedins, and often quoted in the Saṁskāra° of Raghunandana, the Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa is the only work of Bhavadeva, drawn upon by our author in Prāyaścitta° and Śūddhi°, the quotations being 10 and 2 in number respectively. The longest quotation, which is on p. 539 of P.T., is from p. 43 of P.P. It purports that 'the word *abhyāsa* (i.e. repetition), attached to a sin like drinking liquor, is to be construed in the sense of the groups of the series of acts, constituting such drinking on different occasions and not in the totality of actions, needed for doing the same on a single occasion, just as the sense of the verb "to cook" denotes all the consecutive actions, necessary for a single endeavour of cooking and beginning with the cleansing of the cooking vessels and ending with the testing of the boiled character of the rice and also as the meaning of the root "to kill" involves all the separate signs of different kinds of beating'. Our author applies this logic of Bhavadeva in his topic of the 'partaking of the cooked food of a Caṇḍāla'. Another important quotation of the opinion of Bhavadeva, which is on p. 352 of S.T., is to the effect that 'as theft is also included among the modes of acquiring ownership over a thing, so a right, recognized by the *Śāstras*, also arises in a stolen article, so far as its use according to one's sweet will is concerned'. After quoting this extract our author adds that this view is supported by Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa. A paraphrase of the above quotation is found on p. 71 of Bhavadeva's P.P. and the purport of the very words, embodying the paraphrase, is that 'just as the right of ownership (in an article bought) arises in the vendee by the fact of purchase and the corresponding right of the vendor is thereby extinguished, so a thief also acquires a similar right in a stolen article regarding its free use and carriage from one place to another, by the extinction of the right of the previous owner'.

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[1] Vide *The Elements of Jurisprudence* (7th edition) by T. E. Holland (1895), p. 50.

(*b*) JIMŪTAVĀHANA (1100–1150 A.D.)

The three extant works of this author are the Kālaviveka, Vyavahāramatṛkā and Dāyabhāga and these are collectively styled as the '*dharmaratna*' by Jīmūtavāhana in his separate treatises. The first of these works, treating of *Kāla* or proper time for religious observances, has been utilized 33 times by our author, principally (i.e. 30 times) in his Tithi°, Malamāsa° and Ekādaśī°, containing the same topic and only once each in his Āhnika°, Śuddhi° and Chandogavṛṣotsarga°. Raghunandana has almost always accepted the conclusions of his illustrious Bengal predecessor, as expounded in his Kālaviveka, the only three cases of dissent from the same being on p. 24 of T.T., p. 849 of M.T. and p. 40 of E.T. The second work, treating of *vyavahāra*, i.e. judicial procedure, has been drawn upon nine times by our author, principally (i.e. six times) in his cognate work, Vyavahāra° and only once in his Dāya° and twice in his Divya°. The third work, the Dāyabhāga which treats of *dāya* and *bhāga*, i.e. inheritance and partition and is the most important of the above three, has been quoted by our author as many as 21 times, the majority of which, numbering 15, are in the corresponding work of Raghunandana, viz. the Dāya° and only once, twice and thrice in his Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa° and Śuddhi° respectively. That our author was a staunch follower of Jīmūtavāhana, who advocated the peculiar doctrine of spiritual benefit as the determining factor in the choice of the heirs of a deceased person, is nowhere better exemplified than in the following extract from the Śuddhi° (pp. 390-1) of the former:—

'Failing the above persons (previously enumerated by Raghunandana), the following is the list of the ultimate performers of the obsequial rites to the deceased, in proportion to the degree of spiritual benefit, expounded by the Dāyabhāga and as laid down by Śātātapa in the following words, "The maternal uncle is to offer funeral cakes to the sister's son and *vice versa* and one is to perform the same in regard to one's father-in-law, teacher or preceptor, friend, maternal grandfather and to their wives, sisters and parents—this is the prescription of those conversant with the Vedas".'

(*c*) ANIRUDDHA BHAṬṬA (1150–1175 A.D.)

The two extant works of Aniruddha, viz. the Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā, have been exhaustively quoted in several works of our author. The former of the above two, viz. the Hāralatā, being a work on *śuddhi* (i.e. ceremonial purification), has been quoted no less than 44 times in the Śuddhi° alone, a work of the cognate topic and once only in each of the following five works, viz. Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Prāyaścitta°, Udvāha° and Chandogavṛṣotsarga°. These nearly fifty quotations are fairly distributed over almost all the chapters of the Hāralatā, covering 214 pages only in the text portion. Our author has invariably accepted the interpretations and abided by the conclusions of his third Bengal predecessor with the solitary exception of his quotation from the Hāralatā on pp. 336-37 of the Śuddhi°, which runs as follows:—

यत्तु दत्तानां भर्त्तृगृहावस्थानेऽप्येकाहे दशपिण्डदानमुक्तं हारलताकृद्भिस्तत्र प्रमाणं न विद्मः ।

(That is, we do not know the authority of the following statement of the author of the Hāralatā, viz. दत्तानां · · · · दशपिण्डदानम्.)

But the printed edition of the Hāralatā reads the following on p. 180 in the corresponding portion, which is a comment on the previously quoted 14 verses of the Ādipurāṇa on pp. 176-77 (four verses only from the 7th to the 10th of the above 14 being quoted in the Śuddhi° on p. 335):—

दग्ध पिण्डानेकाहेनैवेति ऋष्यशृङ्गवचनं वाग्दानात् पूर्वं बोद्धव्यम्। दत्तानां भर्तृगृहावस्थाने च अहनि चापरे इत्यशौचदिनादपरदिने इत्यर्थः।

So it seems that the MS. of the Hāralatā, consulted by our author, was a bit corrupt in this portion and somewhat topsy-turvied the above two consistent and consecutive sentences. So our author's remark about the unauthoritative character of the above quotation from the Hāralatā is without any force whatsoever. The latter work, viz. the Pitṛdayitā, dealing with *āhnika* (i.e. daily observances) and *śrāddha*, has been quoted by our author mainly in the Śrāddha° and Āhnika° and occasionally in the Tithi°, Malamāsa°, Śuddhi°, Yajurvediśrāddha° and Chandogavṛṣotsarga°, the quotations in the former two works being 29 and 8 times respectively and in the latter five works being 5, 2, 4, 2 and 2 times only. Our author has almost always in these 52 quotations accepted the views, expounded in the Pitṛdayitā, the only cases of his rejection of the same being on pp. 204, 209, 222, 241, 245 (twice), 277 (twice) and 316 of Śr. T., p. 421 of Ā.T. and p. 316 of Ś.T.

(*d*) BALLĀLA SENA (1150–1175 A.D.)

Both the two extant works of this royal author, viz. the Adbhutasāgara and Dānasāgara, have been utilized by our author, who quotes the former work, treating of propitiatory rites, twice only, once each in his Jyotis° and Malamāsa° and utilizes the latter work, dealing with gifts, 11 times in all, 6 times being in the Śuddhi° and only once each in the Āhnika°, Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī°, Divya° and Dīkṣa°. The quotations from the Adbhutasāgara are citations from earlier works, preserved in the former, while those from the Dānasāgara are comments of Ballāla Sena, on the texts, quoted by him in this work.

(*e*) HALĀYUDHA (1175–1200 A.D.)

The Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva is the only extant work of Halāyudha among several of the same author, quoted by Raghunandana, who quotes it six times only in his following five works, viz. Śrāddha°, Āhnika°, Ekādaśī°, Śuddhi° and Yajurvediśrāddha°. The quotations are once in each of the above works, except in the Āhnika°, quoting it twice and are neither big nor important.

(*f*) KULLŪKA BHAṬṬA (1150–1300 A.D.)

Of the commentaries of the Manusmṛti, those of Medhātithi (900 A.D.) and Govindarāja (1080–1140 A.D.) have been utilized by our author only once each in his Dāya° (p. 184 and pp. 191-2), while that of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa as many as 34 times in his following eleven works, viz. Śrāddha°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Dāya°, Vyavahāra°, Śuddhi° and Yajurvediśrāddha°. These 34 quotations again are from Kullūka's comments on the more difficult verses of the Manusmṛti (chaps. II–V and VIII–XI only), among more such quoted by our author from the same. These have all been identified in the printed Manvartha-muktāvalī, which is the name of Kullūka's commentary but unfortunately the above two quotations only from the first two commentaries could not be similarly traced in the printed editions of the same where they are wanting. The following highly eulogistic remarks about Kullūka, made by **Sir William Jones** in course of a judgment (Pedda Ramappa *v.* Bangari Seshamma, I.L.R. 2 Mad. 286 at p. 291), are expressive of the real merit of that learned commentator of the Manusmṛti:—

'At length appeared Cullūca Bhaṭṭa, who, after a painful course of study and the collation of numerous manuscripts, produced a work of which it may perhaps be said very truly that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable, commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern.'[1]

It may be said in corroboration of the above remarks that our author, while explaining the more difficult texts of the Manusmṛti, quoted by him, has nominally utilized the commentaries of Medhātithi and Govindarāja, the famous two Kullūka's predecessors but substantially drawn upon that of Kullūka and in most of the cases the quotations cover the entire portions of Kullūka's comments on individual verses of the Manusmṛti. These two facts, viz. big number of and wholesale, quotations from Kullūka's commentary, are proofs of the learning, depth and concise character of the same.

(*g*) ŚŪLAPĀṆI (1375–1460 A.D.)

Śūlapāṇi is not really the immediate Bengali predecessor of our author, having preceded the latter by more than a century and being directly succeeded by Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, Śrīnatha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi and Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya. But he is virtually the last great Bengal digest-writer to be copiously quoted and immensely incorporated in his works by our author who was a younger contemporary of Govindānanda[2] (1500–1540 A.D.) and a pupil of Śrīnātha (1470–1540 A.D.). But as our author, Raghunandana (1500–1575 A.D.), flourished in Navadvīpa in Nadia district and Govindānanda in Bagri in Midnapore district and both were thus separated by more than a hundred miles, so our author, though quoting from the earlier writer, Śrīnātha, did not even know the existence of, far from consulting, the works of the later author, Govindānanda in those pre-printing days of difficult communication. The utilization of the works of Rāyamukuṭa and Śrīnātha by our author is also not very considerable both in quantity and quality and will be dealt with in the next two sections (*h*) and (*i*).

Though Śūlapāṇi wrote a number of digests on dharmaśāstra and a commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, called the Dīpakalikā, yet only this Dīpakalikā and two digests, viz. the Prāyaścittaviveka and Śrāddhaviveka, are not only the biggest and most important but also the only three works, along with the shorter treatise, the Sambandhaviveka, of Śūlapāṇi Mahāmahopādhyāya to be fully utilized by our author. The great importance, attached by Raghunandana to the Dīpakalikā of Śūlapāṇi, will be realized from the fact that our author has drawn upon the famous Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara and the Dīpakalikā of his great Bengal predecessor only, in total exclusion of the Bālakrīḍā of Viśvarūpa and Aparārka of Aparāditya, two other extant commentaries on the Yāj., to solve the knotty points of the more difficult texts of this smṛtikāra in most of his works. The quotations from the Dīpakalikā, which are 37 in number, are fairly distributed over as many as 12 works of our author and collected from all the three chapters of the former work. These quotations, though considerably less in number and size than those from the Mitākṣarā (to be discussed below), are none the less important than the latter. The majority of the citations from the Prāyaścittaviveka, numbering not less than 42, are mostly in the Prāyaścitta° of our author, dealing with the same topic, viz. prāyaścitta (or expiation), while they are also fairly distributed over eight other works, viz. Tithi°, Āhnika°, Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Vrata°, Dāya° and Śuddhi°. Our author has almost always accepted the decisions of Śūlapāṇi, except in three cases, viz. on p. 10 of T.T. and pp. 517 and 544 of P.T. The citations from the Śrāddhaviveka are equally numerous and the overwhelming majority of them, numbering 76 (= 13+35+9+19), occur in the Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Malamāsa° and Śuddhi°, while eight other works, viz. Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Dāya°, Divya° and Yajurvedivṛṣotsarga° quote once or twice from this work of Śūlapāṇi. The quotations from the Sambandhaviveka, numbering 4 only, are in the Udvāha° and Śuddhi°, of which the two in the former work, dealing with marriage, could only be identified.

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[1] Quoted from P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 360-61.

[2] Author of four digests, viz. Varṣakriyākaumudī, Dānakriya°, Śrāddhakriyā° and Śuddhi°, all edited in B.I. by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, 1902–5.

(*h*) Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa (1400–1475 A.D.)

Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, who composed many works on Smṛti and belonged to the court of the Bengal King Jalaluddin (reigning from 1418 to 1431 A.D.[1]), receiving his title of Rāyamukuṭa from his royal patron, must be placed in the first three quarters of the 15th century, as his commentary on the Amarakoṣa, the famous Sanskrit lexicon, was written in 1431 A.D. and as he has quoted Vardhamāna Upādhyāya (1450–1500 A.D.) on folio 21*b* of his Smṛtiratnahāra and his work Smṛtiparibhāṣā on folio 25*a* of the same. Our author has quoted eleven times from this former author's works, by the mention of his name only, in the following six works, viz. Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Malamāsa°, Dāya°, Śuddhi° and Yajurvediśrāddha°. Only three of the above eleven quotations could be traced in the Government of India MS. (No. 5219) of the Smṛtiratnahāra of Rāyamukuṭa and these three quotations are in the 2nd, 3rd and 6th of the above six works, one in each. It may be added here that Rāyamukuṭa eulogizes his royal patron in the fourth introductory verse of his Smṛtiratnahāra.

(*i*) Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi (1470–1540 A.D.)

Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi, the teacher of Raghunandana, who styles him as Gurucaraṇāḥ, Bhaṭṭācāryacaraṇāḥ or Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi, has been quoted by the latter under those three appellations twelve times, once and twice respectively in his eight works, viz. Tithi°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Śuddhi°, Yajurvediśrāddha°, Chandogavṛṣotsarga° and Yajurvedivṛṣotsarga°. The Kṛtyatattvārṇava, Śuddhitattvārṇava and Vivāhatattvārṇava, three extant works of Śrīnātha, have been also quoted by our author eight times, once and once respectively in his following six works, viz. Tithi°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Udvāha° and

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[1] History of Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 128-9.

Śuddhi°. Of these eight quotations from the Kṛtyatattvārṇava, as many as five, as well as three of the twelve citations from Gurucaraṇāḥ could be traced in the Asiatic Society MS. (No. I. F. 45) of the former. Though the only citation from the Śuddhitattvārṇava in the Śuddhi° (p. 257) could not be found out in the faded palm-leaf MS. (No. 3689, Govt. of India collections), yet fortunately owing to the surprise publication of the Vivāhatattvārṇava in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XXXII (pp. 327–339) at the end of September, 1952, the only quotation from the same in the Udvāha° (p. 117) has been successfully traced on p. 336 of the former. The almost similarity of the titles of the works of both Śrīnātha and Raghunandana, who were teacher and pupil respectively, directly proves the fact that attempts to clarify and consolidate the social and religious laws of Bengal were afoot a generation earlier than our author but it required the genius of the latter to do the same in the lines of the training imparted to him and researches made by the former.

CHAPTER VII

Mediæval Period—Mithilā

Śrīdatta, Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati, Rudradhara, Vācaspati Miśra and Vardhamāna are the six mediæval digest-writers of Mithilā and the several works of all of them have been utilized by our author in his encyclopædia. But as the Daṇḍaviveka [1] (on punishments), the only published work of Vardhamāna (1450–1500 A.D.), has not been quoted by our author and MSS. of the other works of the former, quoted by the latter, are also not available, so we have omitted this last digest-writer of Mithilā from our treatment. We may finish him here at the very outset by remarking that our author often styles him as 'Navya Vardhamāna' (i.e. the younger Vardhamāna), thus differentiating him from the earlier logician Vardhamāna Upādhyāya of Mithilā and that our author's quotations from this later Vardhamāna's several works are mostly second-hand, i.e. they are citations from the smṛtis and purāṇas, preserved in Vardhamāna's works, rarely consisting of comments of the latter on such ancient texts and are, therefore, not very important. Our author also sometimes criticizes Vardhamāna's views.

(*a*) Śrīdatta Upādhyāya (1275–1300 A.D.)

The three works among many such of Śrīdatta, utilized by our author, are the Samayapradīpa, Ācārādarśa and Pitṛbhakti, of which the first only has been specifically mentioned only thrice out of the ten quotations by our author from the same and the second and third works are nowhere specifically mentioned. The second work only was printed twice.[2] But we have consulted D.C. MSS. of all of them. The subject-matters of the above three works are the following:—

(1) The proper times for various *vratas* or vows.
(2) The daily religious duties of the followers of the White Yajurveda.
(3) Śrāddha rites for the same.

The first work contains, as stated above, ten quotations which are in the Tithi°, Malamāsa° and Ekādaśī° and have all been identified. Our author has almost always accepted the views of Śrīdatta, as expounded in this work, the only exception being on p. 85 of Tithi°, where the former rejects the views of both the latter and Vācaspati Miśra, a later Mithilā digest-writer. It may be mentioned here that a view of the Maithilas, beginning with the word *maithilāstu*, quoted by our author on p. 11 of E.T., has been traced by us on folio 2*b* of this work. The only quotation from the second work is in the Āhnika°, this time also with the name of Śrīdatta only, suffixed to it and it has been identified by us. The five quotations, three with the joint names of Śrīdatta and Vācaspati Miśra and two with that of the former only, suffixed to them, occur in the Śrāddha°, Malamāsa° and Yajurvediśrāddha°. They are without exception refutations of the views of Śrīdatta and Vācaspati Miśra and have all been identified in the third work.

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[1] Edited by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, *G.O.S.*, Vol. LII, 1931.
[2] (1) Divākara Press, Banaras, (2) Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, *saṁvat* 1961.

(b) CAṆḌESVARA ṬHAKKURA (1290–1360 A.D.)

Our author's quotations from the Smṛtiratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara, divided into seven parts, are numerous and are prefixed either with the specific mention of the quoted part or with the general heading 'ratnākara'. This latter mode of general reference to Caṇḍeśvara's works by our author has made our task of identification a bit more difficult. Our author has quoted the following six parts of (or works included within) the above Smṛtiratnākara, viz. (1) Kṛtyaratnākara, (2) Gṛhastha°, (3) Vivāda°, (4) Dāna°, (5) Śuddhi° and (6) Pūjā°,[1] while the seventh work, viz. Vyavahāra°, has nowhere been quoted by him. Of these, the quotations from the first five only could be traced, those of the first three in the printed B.I. editions of the same and those of the fourth and the fifth in the complete D.C. MS. and the incomplete Government of India MS. respectively. The citations from the sixth work, viz. the Pūjā°, which are, however, not numerous, could not be identified owing to the non-existence of any MS. of the same. The same difficulty, existing also for the seventh work, viz. the Vyavahāra°, has been solved by the fact of our author's non-utilization of the same.

The Kṛtya°, which begins with the discussion of *dharma* and deals with the various *vratas* and observances in the several months of the year, including *malamāsa* (i.e. the intercalary month) and on the several days of the week, has been quoted ten times by our author, of which six quotations are in the Tithi°, two in the Malamāsa° and one each in the Jyotis° and the Kṛtya°. The Gṛhastha° on the duties of householders has been cited by our author as many as 30 times in the following seven works, viz. Tithi°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha° and Śuddhi°, the quotations in the 2nd and the 6th being more numerous than in the other works and amounting to 6 and 14 respectively. The Gṛhastha° quotations are also the largest in number among all the Ratnākaras, those from the Vivāda°, which are 26 only, coming next. This latter work, which is an extensive treatise on civil and criminal law, has been quoted by our author in the following seven works, viz. Tithi°, Saṁskāra°, Udvāha°, Dāya°, Vyavahāra°, Śuddhi° and Maṭhapratiṣṭhādi°, the quotations in the 4th and the 6th, amounting to 11 and 8 respectively and heading the list. Only eleven quotations in the Śuddhi° could be identified in the incomplete MS. of the Śuddhiratnākara, while nineteen citations in the following eight works could be traced in the complete MS. of the Dānaratnākara, viz. Prāyaścitta°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Udvāha°, Vyavahāra°, Śuddhi°, Jalāśayotsarga° and Maṭhapratiṣṭhādi°. Of these nineteen quotations those in the Śuddhi° and the Jalāśayotsarga° are five in each case.

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[1] The descriptive paragraph on the Pūjāratnākara, which should have been inserted on p. 383 of the late Rai Bahadur Monmohan Chakravarti's big paper on 'Contributions to the History of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā' (*J.A.S.B.*, New Series, Vol. XI (1915), pp. 311–406), has been inadvertently left out, obviously in the printing stage, inasmuch as the learned writer speaks of the seven sections of the Smṛtiratnākara on p. 382 of the same and prefaces his paragraphs on the Dāna° and Vivāda° by the bracketed letters, (*c*) and (*e*) on p. 383, thereby clearly indicating that the corresponding paragraph on the Pūjā° with (*d*), prefixed to it, was placed in the author's original composition between the paragraphs (*c*) and (*e*).

(c) Vidyāpati (1375–1450 A.D.)

Of the six dharmaśāstra works by Vidyāpati, the famous Maithila poet and author, the following four only have been utilized by Raghunandana, viz.—

(1) Gaṅgāvākyāvalī,
(2) Dānavākyāvalī,
(3) Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī, and
(4) Varṣakṛtya.

Our author has not consulted the Śaivasarvasvasāra and Vibhāgasāra, the two other remaining works of Vidyāpati. Of the 21 quotations from the first work which are in the Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa° and Śuddhis°, we have succeeded in tracing 17 only. Of the seven citations from the third work, all in the *durgotsava* portion of the Tithi°, six only could be found out. The only quotation from the second work, which is in the Udvāha° (p. 138), could not be traced in the Poona MS. of the same, as also the three citations from the fourth work in the Malamāsa° (pp. 776, 822 and 823) for absence of any MS. of the same. Our author only once (p. 496 of S.T.) rejects the reading of a portion of a text of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, preserved in the G.V., on the ground of faulty construction and only once (p. 501 of S.T.) disapproves of its prescription, but refutes as many as four times the views of Vidyāpati, recorded in his D.bh., quoted seven times only by the former.

(d) Rudradhara (1425–1460 A.D.)

Six quotations under the general heading 'Rudradhara' in the Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Prāyaścitta° and Kṛtya° could not be traced but two such in the Śuddhi° could be identified in the Government of India MS. (No. 9804) of the Śuddhiviveka, one of his two best-known works, the other being the Śrāddhaviveka. The above eight quotations are with one exception either acceptances by our author of the interpretations of Rudradhara or second-hand quotations from the latter by the former. The only exception, which is also one of the two traced quotations, is a refutation of the view of Rudradhara by our author and is to the following effect:—

'Rudradhara's conclusion from the following text of the Kūrmapurāṇa, quoted in the Ratnākara (i.e. Śuddhiratnākara, p. 61), viz. "the sapindaship of the female children (i.e. daughters), not given away, extends to the seventh degree" "that the text, laying down the rule of sapindaship of unmarried girls, applies to the period between betrothal and marriage" is wrong, because the "giving away", referred to in this text means "marriage" only, there being no authority for construing it to apply to cases, falling in the period between betrothal and marriage and further the fault of cumbrousness arises in interpreting it in that way.'

The other identified quotation relates to the interpretations, offered by Rudradhara of two words, viz. *kriyāhīnasya* and *mūrkhasya*, occurring in a text of the Kūrmapurāṇa, previously quoted by him.

(e) Vācaspati Miśra (1425–1480 A.D.)

We have seen above that our author seldom criticizes the views of Śrīdatta, Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati and Rudradhara, except all the opinions in the Pitṛbhakti of the first author, referred to by him and the majority of those in the Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī of the third author, utilized by him.

We have also seen that cases of our author's criticism of the views of Vardhamāna are very rare. But we come across hundreds of cases, in which our author strongly denounces the views of the *Maithilas*, i.e. his Mithilā predecessors in digest-writing. These views of the *Maithilas*, so vehemently refuted by our author, must, therefore, be ascribed to Vācaspati Miśra, who has been by name, and many of whose works, published and unpublished, have been specifically quoted and in many cases criticized by our author. So we now propose to ascertain our author's indebtedness to Vācaspati Miśra in connection with the following four published works of the latter, which are also more important owing to the profusion of quotations from them in several works of our author:—

(1) Śrāddhacintāmaṇi,
(2) Śuddhicintāmaṇi,
(3) Tīrthacintāmaṇi, and
(4) Dvaitanirṇaya.

Of the 29 quotations from the first work, occurring in the following seven works of our author, viz. Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Udvāha°, Śuddhi° and Śūdrākṛtyavicāraṇa°, twenty have been identified and twelve of these identified quotations and two of the untraced ones are refutations of the views of Vācaspati Miśra by our author.

The second work has been quoted by our author principally in the Śuddhi° (five times) and only once in the Udvāha°. The Udvāha° quotation (p. 120) is the only untraced one and the two Śuddhi° quotations on pp. 275 and 292 respectively are the only cases of refutation by our author of the views, expounded by Vācaspati Miśra in his Śuddhicintāmaṇi. The rest four are acceptances of the same by Raghunandana.

The fourth work, concerned as it is with the settlement of some doubtful points of Dharmaśāstra, relating to both *ācāra* and *vyavahāra*, i.e. law and custom, has been quoted by our author twenty times in his following nine works, viz. Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Śuddhi°, Jalāśayotsarga° and Chandogavṛṣotsarga°. The only quotation in the Udvāha° (p. 116) is the only unidentified one and seven only are refutations, of the above twenty citations.

The third work, i.e. the Tīrthacintāmaṇi, is the only work of Vācaspati Miśra which has never been criticized by our author. The reason is obvious. Seven of the eight quotations from this work in the Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Udvāha° and Śuddhi° are second-hand ones, being citations of several texts of the Vāyupurāṇa, Brahmapurāṇa, Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and of the Mahābhārata, preserved in this work. One of the above quotations (on p. 503 of P.T.) is a reference by our author to the different reading of a half-verse, as read in the Tīrthacintāmaṇi and in another (on p. 500 of P.T.), after quoting two verses from the Mahābhārata and the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa respectively, our author adds that two separate formulas of *tarpaṇa* with simple Gaṅgā water and sesamum-mixed Gaṅgā water respectively have been prescribed in the Tīrthacintāmaṇi on the authority of the above two texts. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi deals with the rites and ceremonies to be performed in pilgrimages to the following five places, viz. Prayāga (i.e. modern Allahabad), Puruṣottama (i.e. modern Puri), the river Gaṅgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī (i.e. modern Banaras). But our author, Raghunandana, in his Tīrthayātrātattva (one of the *tattvas* outside the 28 *tattvas*, included within his Smṛtitattva) describes the procedure of pilgrimage to Gayā, Prayāga and Vārāṇasī only. The obvious reason of our author's omission here of Puruṣottama and the Gaṅgā is that he has already allotted one separate work in his Smṛtitattva to Puruṣottama under the caption 'Śrīpuruṣottamatattva' and incidentally dealt with the religious procedure, connected with the Gaṅgā in the *Gaṅgā-māhātmya* (i.e. glorification of the Gaṅgā) portion of his Prāyaścittatattva. So we see that our author also closely follows Vācaspati Miśra in the selection of his places of pilgrimage. This selection, again, of Vācaspati Miśra seems to be guided by the following statement of the Vāyupurāṇa (II. 45. 50*b*-51*b*), which has been copiously quoted as the only authority in the Gayā portion both by Vācaspati and Raghunandana in their respective works:—

> 'Let Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, Puruṣottama and the confluence of the Gaṅgā with the sea (i.e. the modern Bay of Bengal) remain for ever. The place on the Phalgu (i.e. Gayā), presided over by Gadādhara (a name of Viṣṇu), is the best of all the places of pilgrimage.'

Both Vācaspati and Raghunandana have simply changed 'the confluence of the Gaṅgā with the sea' into 'the Gaṅgā' itself. Our author has, moreover, not only almost copied without acknowledgment the general procedure (of starting for and returning from a place of pilgrimage) and the special procedure of pilgrimage to Prayāga from Vācaspati's Tīrthacintāmaṇi but also there is the closest correspondence of quoted texts and author's remarks in the Gayā portion of the respective works of both the authors.

CHAPTER VIII

Mediæval Period—Orissa

Vidyākara Vājapeyin (1350–1425 A.D.)

The only Orissa author, consulted by Raghunandana, is Vidyākara Vājapeyin, whose only published work, the Nityācārapaddhati, has been laid under contribution not less than 26 times by our author in as many as the following ten of his works, viz. Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Vrata°, Śuddhi°, Chandogavṛṣotsarga°, Śrīpuruṣottama° and Maṭhapratiṣṭhādi°.

Our author, who never names this work but always refers to it by the name of its author, has almost always accepted the quotations of the Purāṇas and other earlier works, preserved in and conclusions of, this work of his illustrious Oriya predecessor. The only case of dissent (p. 401 of P.T. = p. 68 of E.T.), recorded in two similar quotations, is regarding the word *dvijottama*, occurring in a text of Vaśiṣṭha, quoted by both Vidyākara and Raghunandana and has been interpreted by the former as 'an undegraded member of the twice-born class' on the analogy of the sense of the word *niṣāda-sthapati* and by the latter as 'a Brāhmaṇa only' on the authority of the mention in the later portion of the above-mentioned text of Vaśiṣṭha of the word *vipra*, which means a Brāhmaṇa and no other member of the twice-born class. Of the 24 other quotations which are cases of acceptance by our author of texts quoted or conclusions formulated by his Oriya predecessor, the following two deserve special mention. The first is a couple of verses, obviously of a lost Purāṇa, which has been quoted twice (pp. 361 of A.T. and 502 of P.T.) by our author.

These two verses lay down the two mantras to be uttered when making a ceremonial ablution in the holy river Gaṅgā. The purport of the verses is given below:—

'O you, Gaṅgā! who have sprung from the holy feet of Viṣṇu and flowed in the three worlds, O you, the daughter of Jahnu and known as *Dharmadravī* (i.e. the holy river)! please wash away my sins. O you, the goddess and holy mother Bhāgīrathī (i.e. the river, conducted to the earth by Bhagīratha)! please sanctify with your nectar-like waters me who am full of faith and devotion.'

The second which is a lengthy and important discussion, extending over two pages (26–28) of the Ekādaśī° and containing the name of neither Vidyākara nor the Nityācārapaddhati, is really from pp. 2–4 of the latter. An English rendering of the above discussion is given below:—

'Daily duties are those, the non-performance of which entails sin upon persons, for whom they are prescribed. So in *agnihotra* sacrifices, which are recommended to be performed for the attainment of heaven, the word *yāvajjīvam* (i.e. for one's whole life) implies their performance for one's whole life, the word "life" here connoting its entire period. But as such sacrifices require a few hours only and do not cover the entire period of one's life and as the word *juhuyāt* (i.e. one should perform the sacrifice) may mean the repeated and incessant performance of the sacrifice, which is impossible, so the word *yāvajjīvam* is to be interpreted as the period, consisting of mornings and evenings, which are the appropriate times for the performance of the *agnihotra* sacrifice. Heaven and similar other things, recommended to be the objects of such sacrifices, cannot be really so, owing to the inability of the former to confer perpetual good. The thoughtless persons only aspire after heaven, while the thoughtful ones do not do so, as it produces many kinds of (subsequent) pain and misery. So having regard to the intention of people at all stages of life, the vanishing of their accumulated sins seems to be the real end in view. So in the following injunctions, such as "vasante vasante jyotiṣā yajeta", "aharahaḥ (= ahaḥ+ahaḥ) svāhā kuryāt", the repetition of the word *vasanta* or *ahaḥ* does not imply incessant performance but habitual practice of the sacrifice. "Habitual practice" means "cessation from non-performance", which latter is ordained in the Scriptures, inferable from the maxim "wherefrom ensures evil, etc.". So daily duties are those which are laid down to remove the evil, ensuing from the non-performance (of prescribed actions), by reason of such authoritative sentences as "A man secures downfall from the non-performance of prescribed duties". Because in those sentences the *bhāvanā* (or the efficient force) of performing is the end in view, consisting of three necessary parts such as "what", "how" and "why" but it fails to prove itself as an injunction without *bhāvya* (or the result aimed at), which cannot be identified with the "removal of sin", which is an absolute negation and hence permanent. But this *bhāvya* can be identified with one's desired object by reason of the injunction itself and the verbal and nominal inflexions, inasmuch as the imports of the verb and of the *bhāvya* cannot be mixed up or identified. In such sacrifices as the *viśvajit*, the desired results of which are not defined, the *bhāvya* (or the desired result) is imagined to be the vanishing of the accumulated sins, as it is the object of desire of everybody at every moment. But that is really not so. The reason is that the vanishing of the sins (of a person) requires a desire on his part, tainted with the idea of the harmfulness of sins but in a *Viśvajit* sacrifice, the *bhāvya* is heaven, untainted with any other definite desire. But it may so happen that a performer of such a sacrifice may, by the grace of God, be averse to any kind of pleasure, nay, even to heaven. As an undesired thing can never be the *bhāvya* of a religious action, so heaven fails to become the *bhāvya* in acts, recommended to be performed throughout one's whole life. The meaning of the verb is now being discussed in the context of the religious action in answer to the question "how", which means the "instrument of the action". But as such an instrument of action fails to operate without the niceties of action on the part of the agent which are beneficent to the performer, so the details, furnished in the relevant scripture, regarding the question "why", determine the *bhāvya* finally. So as a human life has been fixed as the period of the performance of the sacrifice in question, so in every sentence of the injunction the actions, even though deficient on account of physicial inability, are supposed to be properly performed on account of the work *yathāśakti* (i.e. up to one's power). So in cases of utter physical inability, actions, even mentally performed, are supposed to be properly done, owing to the injunction, "One should perform the religious action even in mind".'

CHAPTER IX

Mediæval Period—Other provinces of India

Though our author has mainly abided by the decisions of his several Bengal and Mithilā and single Oriya, predecessors and adversely criticized some conclusions of only three of the second group, viz. Śrīdatta, Vidyāpati and Vācaspati Miśra, yet he has almost always quoted with approval from the works of the digest-writers of all other provinces of India for the confirmation of his own views. So we now intend to indicate province by province and also chronologically the names only of our author's remaining predecessors with the sole exception of the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara, the celebrated commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, as the quotations from the works of all these are invariably second-hand ones and rarely contain the author's own remarks on the texts, preserved by them in their respective works. The Mitākṣarā, however, which has been singled out by us for separate treatment, contains original comments, over and above a vast mass of floating *smṛti* material, both of which have been highly useful to our author for the composition of his several works. We now take up the Mitākṣarā first.

(*a*) VIJÑĀNEŚVARA (1070–1100 A.D.) (OF WEST INDIA)

The Mitākṣarā

The Mitākṣarā, being a running commentary in the nature of a digest owing to its vastness, contains three corresponding chapters on *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta* and the *dāyabhāga* (or inheritance) portion is included within the second chapter on *vyavahāra*. This inheritance portion was in mediæval times and is also even now the authoritative work on the Hindu law of inheritance over the whole of India except Bengal and Assam, the corresponding work in those provinces being the Dāyabhāga of Jīmūtavāhana (1100–1150 A.D.), described above. Still the authority of the rest of the Mitākṣarā is also acknowledged in those two provinces of Eastern India and this is amply testified by not less than 120 quotations from it in as many as the following sixteen of our author's works viz. Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Jyotis°, Malamāsa°, Saṁskāra°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Dāya°, Vyavahāra°, Śuddhi°, Jalāśayotsarga°, Divya°, Maṭhapratiṣṭhādi° and Śūdrakṛtyavicārana°. Of these, the citations in the Prāyaścitta° and Śuddhi° are the most numerous, being 27 and 36 respectively. Our author, though a follower of Jīmūtavāhana in inheritance matters, has exclusively utilized the *vyavahāra* chapter of the Mitākṣarā including its inheritance portion in the following three of his works only, viz. Dāya°, Vyavahāra° and Divya° and principally laid the *prāyaścitta* chapter of the same under contribution in the remaining thirteen of his works. Six quotations from the *vyavahāra* chapter also occur in the following six works of our author, viz. Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha°, Śuddhi° and Jalāśayotsarga°, while the *ācāra* chapter has been quoted 18 times in his following eight works, viz. Tithi°, Śrāddha°, Āhnika°, Prāyaścitta°, Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī°, Udvāha° and Śuddhi°. Only the following seven of these 120 quotations from the Mitākṣarā by our author are refutations of the views of the former by the latter, viz. on p. 463 of T.T., p. 545 of P.T., p. 22 of E.T., pp. 298, 332 and p. 398 of S.T. and p. 585 of Div. T. Like the quotations from the works of Bengal, Mithilā and Orissa, described above, the Mitākṣarā citations are partly first-hand and partly second-hand, the obvious reason being the expansive digest-like nature of the work, in spite of its professing to be a concise commentary of limited letters, as indicated by the Sanskrit compound word '*mitākṣarā*', forming its title. It should be noted in conclusion of this section that our author, though a staunch follower of Jīmūtavāhana's Dāyabhāga in his treatise on inheritance, viz. the Dāyatattva, follows to some extent the Mitākṣarā theory of joint-tenancy (*sāmudāyika svatva*) over and above the Dāyabhāga theory of tenancy-in-common (*prādeśika svatva*) in partition on p. 163 of his D.T.

(*b*) OTHER DIGEST-WRITERS OF INDIA

The names of the remaining digest-writers of the other provinces of India, whose works have been utilized by our author, are set out below, with the names of their relevant works and times of flourishing noted against them:—

A—*South India*

Madhavācārya, author of the Kālamādhavīya (1330–1385 A.D.).

B—*West India*

(1) Śrīdhara, author of the Smṛtyarthasāra (1150–1200 A.D.).
(2) Hemādri, author of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (about 1270 A.D.).
(3) Allāḍanātha, author of the Nirṇayāmṛta (1250–1500 A.D.).

C—*North India*

(1) Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa, author of the Kṛtya-Kalpataru in 14 parts (1100–1150 A.D.).
(2) Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa, author of the Madanapārijāta (1300–1400 A.D.).

Of the above six works of six authors of South, West and North India, the Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri and the Kālamādhavīya of Madhavācārya have been more copiously utilized by our author, who has invariably quoted from the former by the mention of the author's name, Hemādri and not by that of the work itself. The eight quotations from the Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara in eight different works of our author, though the smallest in number among the corresponding ones from all the six authors of the above list, are none the less important, as one of them (on pp. 96-7 of E.T.) is on 'the several articles which may be used as substitutes in various religious observances'. This quotation is also one of the longest, covering as it does 29 lines (i.e. 15 verses) at a stretch.

CHAPTER X

Conclusion

Our thesis is now concluded. We have seen in the above analytic study that our author has laid under contribution in his encyclopædic work not only the undated two epics, viz. the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata but also all the relevant dated works, bearing dharmaśāstra material, composed between 800 B.C. and 1540 A.D., i.e. a period of more than two millennia up to the time of his writing. His almost wholesale acceptance of the views of his nine Bengali and one Oriya predecessors and partial criticism of those of his neighbouring province of Mithilā amply prove that Bengal customs had remained almost unchanged in the mediæval period for five centuries from 1050 to 1550 A.D. and that Mithilā customs, emanating from a people with a separate School of Law, were a bit different almost at all times in that period from those of Bengal.

Our author's powers of scientific discussion are also sufficiently demonstrated by his wonderful synthesis of all the available dharmaśāstra material of more than two thousand years with the aid of relevant selection of texts and comments and pūrvamīmāṅsā method of reasoning. So the ascription of narrowly conservative character to him and the charge of social tyranny on his prescriptions by Dr. S. K. De [1] are totally unfounded. Our author, like all other mediæval digest-writers, was no innovator. On the contrary, he could not ignore the prevalent customs of his province and was, moreover, bound by the authority of the ancient texts and interpretations. Similarly, the influence of Muhammadan Sufism on the liberalness of our author's views, as suggested by Dr. Enamul Haque[2], is a myth, the Bhagavadgītā and the Śrīmadbhāgavata, the two devotional Sanskrit works of Ancient India, having widened the outlook of our author, if any. The following two extracts from Dr. S. N. Dasgupta's Introduction (pp. XXIV and CXVIII) to 'A History of Sanskrit Literature'[3] deserve to be quoted and their queries solved here, bearing as they do upon the intellectual activities of our author:—

(1) 'It is difficult to understand how the injunctions of the *smṛti* writers derived any authoritative value. Probably in some cases many older instances had gone out of practice or become repugnant to the people, or that the codification of some *smṛti* writers might have had the backing of a ruling prince and was for the matter of that held sacred to his kingdom. But it may also have been that some *smṛti* writers had risen to great eminence and authority and by virtue of the peoples' confidence in him, his decisions became authoritative. In the case of Raghunandana, who lived in Navadvīpa about 500 years ago, we find that either by personal influence or by propaganda he succeeded in making his views and interpretation stand supreme in Bengal in preference to the views of older *smṛti* authorities like Yājñavalkya or Vijñāneśvara.'

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[1] Early History of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal, p. 22, General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta, 1942.

[2] Vaṅge Suphī-prabhāva (in Bengali), p. 185, Calcutta, 1944.

[3] Classical Period, Vol. I, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De, Calcutta University, 1947.

(2) 'Philosophy in the North dwindled into formalism of the new school of Nyāya, the rise of emotionalism in Caitanya and his followers, and the stringency of the Smṛti in the *nivandhas* (*nibandhas?*) of Raghunandana.'

In the first extract, quoted above, the learned author, after having hinted one after another at custom, legislation and scientific discussion, three of the six recognized sources of law in modern times, has ascribed the prevalence of our author, Raghunandana's views to personal influence or propaganda, which are not only nowhere recognized as sources of change of law but also totally disproved from our foregoing analysis of our author's works. Moreover, the mention by the learned author, the late Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, of Yājñavalkya and Vijñāneśvara, as the two outstanding predecessors of our author, is simply ludicrous, inasmuch as the former was an ancient Smṛtikāra, flourishing between 100 and 300 A.D. and the latter was the celebrated Western Indian commentor on the above Smṛti, flourishing about five centuries earlier than our author. In the second extract the learned author has accused the *smṛti-nibandhas* of Raghunandana with 'stringency', which is nearly a synonym for the words 'social tyranny', labelled against the prescriptions of our author by Dr. S. K. De, referred and replied to above. With the following recent remark by another great writer, Dr. R. C. Majumdar on p. 504 of his 'Ancient India'[1] and our corresponding reply to it, we take leave of our subject:—

'Anyone who, not unnaturally, wonders how a gifted people like the Hindus could readily submit to the yoke of these superstitions, need only look round him today. . . . . He will see how, in spite of the knowledge of the ancient Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras and Smṛitis, millions of men in Bengal unwittingly submit to the dictates of a Brāhmaṇa writer of the 15th (sic.) century—dictates which are in flagrant contrast with the injunctions of the ancient sacred literature.'

In the above extract Dr. Majumdar has described the dictates, i.e. the views of Raghunandana as in flagrant contrast with the injunctions of the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras and Smṛtis. But the fact is just the opposite, as has been amply proved in our previous study, revealing the maximum incorporation of the Dharmasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras and the Smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others in our author's works. As regards the utilization of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, the mantras of almost all religious actions, described by our author, will sufficiently disprove Dr. Majumdar's contention.

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[1] Degradation of Hindu Society, Chap. XXI, pp. 499–508, published by Matilal Banarasidas, Banaras, 1952.

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(1) *Printed*

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U.K. = Uttarakhaṇḍa

of Padmapurāṇa.

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C.V.T. = Chandoga-vṛṣotsargatattva
D.T. = Dāyatattva
D.P.T. = Devapratiṣṭhātattva
Dik.T. = Dīkṣātattva
Div.T. = Divyatattva
Durgo.T. = Durgotsavatattva (within Tithitattva)
E.T. = Ekādaśītattva
J.T. = Jyotistattva
J.L.T. = Jalāśayotsargatattva
K.T. = Kṛtyatattva
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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Volume XIX, No. 2, 1953.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR (1603–78) by T. I. Poonen. Published by the University of Travancore, pp. xxiv and 303. 1948. (With a Foreword by K. Zachariah.)

Students of Indian History are familiar with Panikkar's *Malabar and the Dutch*, published some twenty years ago. In recent years two more works on the Dutch have come out. One is Professor K. K. Dutt's account of the Dutch in Bengal and the other is Mr. Poonen's monograph on the Dutch Power in Malabar.

Indian historical literature on foreigners in India other than the British is too meagre and Mr. Poonen's attempt to write on a neglected period of Indian history is welcome. His work includes a discussion of the sources, the accounts of the early Dutch contact with Malabar, the Dutch-Portuguese rivalry and the Dutch conquest of Cochin and Cranganore and the relations between the Dutch and the ruler of Travancore. There are also chapters on the religious policy of the Dutch and their commercial activities. The author hopes that his book will serve 'as a useful prelude' to a detailed study of the subject. But it is ill-planned and written in so careless a manner that the reader has a curious feeling that he is going through the author's draft notes rather than a finished work. The third chapter in the book dealing with the sources of the Dutch history in Malabar should have come in the beginning as an introduction or relegated to the end as an appendix. The classification of authorities also leaves much to be desired. It has not been wise to class together the *Patappattu*, a poem of the seventeenth century, and Panikkar's *Malabar and the Dutch* simply because both are 'Indian publications', while books like Balkrishna's *Commercial Relations between India and England* and Moreland's *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* have been described as 'English works' and classified separately. The references have not always been properly cited. The practice of mentioning only the name of the author, but not the title of the book nor the page number (pp. 11, 41) is to be deprecated. The book is evidently intended for those who have some knowledge of Indian History; the foot-notes, therefore, on page 6, explaining that 'Surat was the great port of the Mughal Province of Gujarat', is superfluous. Very few scholars would share Mr. Poonen's complacency that 'as a result of patient researches of diligent scholars, it has been possible to fill up the gap in Ancient Indian History' (p. 1). The book will be of some help to those interested in the history of Malabar but a little care would have made it readable and more useful.

P. C. G.

THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF VARENDRA (NORTH BENGAL). By (Late) Akshoy Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E. Edited with Introduction, Appendices and Illustrations by Kshitis Ch. Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Hony. Secy., Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. Published by the V.R. Society, Rajshahi. Pp. vi–xiii, 1–41, pls. I–XVII.

This brochure is derived out of an illustrated lecture delivered by the great historian, archaeologist and art-critic of Bengal, the late Akshoy Kumar Maitra in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, just a quarter of a century ago. If anyone had in those days the best claims to speak about the archaeology and art-treasures of Varendra, it was the great scholar of hallowed memory. After making his debut in the field of historical literature of Bengal with his 'Sirajuddowla', 'Mir Kasim' and 'Firinghi Banik', he devoted his heart and soul to the thorough exploration of the land of Varendra and its epigraphic, numismatic, sculptural, and monumental remains. In this endeavour he found an enthusiastic lieutenant in the late Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya. The splendid Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi owed its origin and development to the indefatigable labours of these two earnest sons of Varendra. Akshoy Kumar was also the first to collect all the inscriptions of the Pāla Kings of Bengal known at that time, and critically edit them with appropriate introductions, notes and translations in the Bengali corpus 'Gauḍalekhamālā'. It does credit to the work, inasmuch as it is still the only such work in the field.

The learned lecturer of those bygone days touched on the topography of the land, the methods of its exploration, the condition of its monuments, their classification, the various extant mounds in the region, and other allied topics in a very interesting manner. The publication of this lecture just 22 years after it was delivered would naturally make it a bit out-of-date, for our knowledge about Varendra and its remains has much advanced since then. But Mr. Sarkar, the critical editor of this lecture, has anticipated this change and brought it up-to-date by his own valuable introduction, foot-notes and appendices. Thus we have here a complete picture, and a perusal of the volume as a whole would add much to our knowledge of this subject. The editor also has done a real service to scholars by incorporating in his well-chosen appendices such useful lists as those of the non-Muslim coins and the important Muslim inscriptions found in Varendra, a tentative list of the principal ancient sites and Muslim monuments traced in North Bengal, etc. It is hoped that he will give us an idea in no distant future about the manuscript treasures in the collection of the V.R. Society.

The brochure has some very fine plates which show the wealth of archaeological collections of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

MAṄGALACAṆḌIR GĪT OF DVIJA MĀDHAVA. Edited by Srī Sudhibhusan Bhattacarya, M.A., and published by Calcutta University, 1952. Pp. 1–77 (Introduction), 1–303 (text).

The text of the late sixteenth century poem is prepared from one printed edition (1904) and six MSS., the oldest of which is dated only 1759. In the long introduction the topics discussed are: (1) the origin and nature of the deity, (2) the story, (3) the poet, (4) the manuscript material used, and (5) the language of the text prepared. A glossary of unfamiliar words, however, is missed.

The manuscript material entirely belongs to East Bengal (Chittagong and Noakhali) and language, not much older than oldest manuscript, belongs to East Bengal. The editor would have done better to compare the interesting forms and idioms with those occurring in other published Middle Bengali texts from East Bengal. I may point out a minor inaccuracy in the Grammar Section (p. 71); 'go' and 're' are not vocative *terminations* but interjections.

The work under review is a neat piece of conscientious research work in Middle Bengali, which is a rarity in recent years.

SUKUMAR SEN.

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